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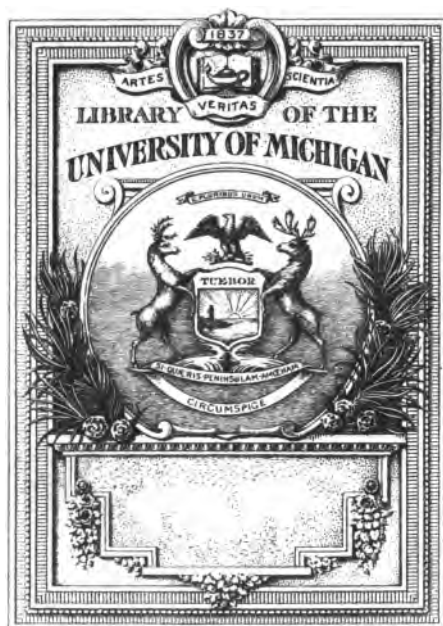
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CHRYSOSTOM,

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF BIBLICAL
INTERPRETATION.

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CHRYSTOSTOM,

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF BIBLICAL
INTERPRETATION.

BY

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TO THE MEMORY OF
MY FATHER.

PREFACE.

THE present Essay gained the Kaye Prize three years ago. Since then I have done my best to work through the subject again; and the entire Essay has been recast and rewritten. I have ventured thus to delay publication, partly because I wished to feel that in some small way I had written because I had read, but chiefly because an investigation into the work of the great Antiochene seemed to demand more careful treatment than was allowed by the hungry scramble for material which precedes the sending in of a prize Essay.

A certain unimportance of the subject required this care. On many questions of current controversy a very faulty work may be of the highest use, if it stimulates other labourers, or emphasises the right method. But Chrysostom's Biblical labours do not immediately touch the problems of our own day, however important may be their indirect bearing on these; and a careless and hasty contribution might most unworthily but effectually check the more earnest and skilful efforts of others. That this Essay in many ways falls far short of the standard which any work on a Biblical subject should reach, I am sadly conscious. The fact that other engagements have often necessitated its being laid aside for a considerable time, will explain, though I do not plead it as an excuse for, some of the many blunders which will be found in it. Moreover many interesting questions have been

neglected or barely touched upon. A Syriac Scholar, for example, would have found much to say upon the Schools of Edessa and Nisibis, and their relation to the Graeco-Syrian School of Antioch. Again, I hoped at one time to add in an Appendix a comparison of the fragments of Diodore, Theodore, and Pelagius on the Epistle to the Romans with the Homilies of Chrysostom. But to treat this subject with due care and fulness would have deferred publication too long.

But on the other hand the study of Chrysostom's exegetical work has a manifold importance of its own. The History of Doctrine cannot be rightly understood apart from the History of Interpretation. If the two are not to be confused, neither are they to be divorced. But the main value which a knowledge of this period of the history of Exegesis possesses lies in a different direction. It would not be difficult to point out many ways in which the crisis through which the Church and the World were passing in Chrysostom's time resembles the anxieties of our own generation. The comparison which I would suggest is not disproved because we thankfully acknowledge that the outlook now is rich in hopes which could hardly be felt then.

To take but the one point which immediately concerns us,—the views about the Bible which the great teachers of Antioch held were not the same as those which had approved themselves a century before. There had been progress, but there had been no revolution. Newer methods of interpretation were transforming, not destroying, the older system. The responsibility of accurately investigating the actual words of Scripture was keenly felt, but the spiritual side of God's Revelation through the typical literature of Israel and of the Christian Church was not overlooked. The claims of criticism, so far as they could be understood then, and the claims of devotion were reconciled. And further, this higher and more accurate teaching was not reserved only for the

initiated few. The honesty of the scholar passed at once into the fearless generosity of the preacher. Popular expositions were the immediate outcome of the highest critical knowledge of the time. And yet, as the fall of the Antiochene School shews, there was the accompanying danger, the two-fold danger of treating as ascertained truths the conclusions of an individual teacher, and of regarding a dogmatic formula as something more than the partial expression of a larger truth.

To point out in detail the significance of this history for our own times is unnecessary. But I would ask leave to emphasise a thought, the importance of which must grow clearer, the longer anyone learns, and tries to teach, Theology. The Bible is not an isolated phenomenon. Were it so, its difficulties might be thought insuperable. Long ago Origen taught that the Bible itself is in a true sense an Incarnation of the Divine Word¹. In proportion as we believe that the historical Incarnation of the Son of God is the central point of human history and of all life, we feel it natural, that God should clothe a revelation of Himself in the fleshly garment of human language and human literature. 'Factum est propter nos sub sole lumen quod fecit solem. Noli contemnere nubem carnis: nube tegitur, non ut obscuretur, sed ut temperetur'.²

I should be ungrateful indeed if I did not record here my indebtedness to two friends—the Rev. H. E. Maddock, late Fellow of Clare College, now Rector of Patrington, and the Rev. C. F. Blyth, Rector of Clipston—for their generous kindness in making time in the midst of other work to read over the proof-sheets.

¹ Orig. *Philocal.* xv.

² Aug. in *Joan. Evan.* Tract. xxxiv. § 4.

ERRATUM.

Page 27, line 15, *for διδαστικόν read διδακτικόν*

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צְרוּפָה אִמְרָתְךָ מְאֹד וְעֲבֹדְךָ אֱהִיבָה :

ΓΙΝΕΣΘΕ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΙΤΑΙ ΔΟΚΙΜΟΙ.

ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑΣ ΜΗ ΕΞΟΥΘΕΝΕΙΤΕ· ΠΑΝΤΑ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕΤΕ· ΤΟ ΚΑΛΟΝ
ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ.

ΖΩΝ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.

CHAPTER I.

THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH, AND CHRYSOSTOM'S PLACE IN IT.

THE influence of the Syrian Antioch on the destinies of the Christian Church did not cease, like that of Jerusalem the first Metropolis of the Faith, when the earliest victories had been won. The city, where in the first half century the name Christian, and early in the second the phrase, The Catholic Church¹, became current coin, was still three centuries later the centre of important movements. It is the object of this Introductory Chapter to give a rapid sketch of the history of the exegetical school which took its name from Antioch.

The origin of a school of thought or criticism is commonly hidden in the undefined but potent influences at work in the days which immediately precede its first manifestations of vigorous life. We can mark the precise spot where the river rises, but the spring itself may be further off than we at first think.

The name of Malchion is the only one which calls for special remark in the first three centuries²; and the little we know of him shews that the Church of Antioch had that in

¹ Bp. Lightfoot points out that in Ignatius (*Smyr.* viii.) the term denotes "the General or Universal Church as opposed to a particular body of Christians". The later technical sense is first found (if the reading is correct) in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (c. 155 A.D.) § 16. (Lightfoot *Ignatius* i. p. 398 sq., ii. p. 310 sq.). Pearson on *Art.* ix. has a very large collection of Patristic passages.

² On a supposed Commentary on the Gospels by Theophilus Bishop of Antioch (c. 168—180 A.D.) see below, p. 122 note.

it round which a school of thought could gather, rather than that such a school had actually arisen.

In the year 269 there met at Antioch the last of the three Councils which assembled to deal with the case of the Bishop Paul. Hitherto by promises or by evasion he had outwitted his accusers. At length his heresy was exposed by the presbyter Malchion.

This Malchion, Eusebius tells us in his account of the Synod, was an eloquent and wise man, president of the school of Greek learning at Antioch, and deemed worthy of the office of presbyter by reason of the wonderful purity of his faith in Christ. Brief as the notice is, it is important as affording evidence that there was at Antioch shortly after the Decian persecution some institution similar to the Catechetical School of Alexandria, in which sacred studies were not divorced from secular learning¹.

Of the subsequent history of the school three periods are clearly marked off. The first opens with the work of Lucian; the second with that of Diodore; while the third is a period of decay, the result of the Nestorian and Monophysite troubles.

I. Lucian, with whose name the annals of the Antiochene School begin, was born at Samosata about the year 240 A.D. He is said to have learned theology in the schools of Edessa and at Caesarea, and thus to have united in himself what Syria, Alexandria, and Palestine had to contribute to the study of Scripture². The Biblical School of Antioch indeed

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vii. 29 (Μαλχίων ἀνὴρ τὰ τε ἄλλα λόγιος καὶ σοφός, τῆς τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἑλληνικῶν παιδευτηρίων διατριβῆς προεστώς); Thdt. *Haeret. Fab. Compend.* ii. viiii. Some fragments of the controversy are given by Leontius Byzant. (*Migne* 86. 1. p. 1391—1395). For the date see *Hefele Councils* i. 121 (E. T.).

² Kihn *Theodor von Mopsuestia* p. 9. The chief refs. for Lucian are: Eus. *H. E.* viii. 13, ix. 6 (τοῖς ἱεροῖς μαθήμασι συγκεκροτημένος); Chrys. *In S. Mart. Lucianum* ii. 524 sq. (καίτοι γε καὶ τῆς ἐξωθεν παιδείας μετέσχεν.....); Sozom. *H. E.* iii. 5; Thdt. (?) V. 30 B (*Athan. Synopsis* iv. 436 B); Jerome *de Vir. Illus.* lxxvii; *In Libr. Paralip. Praefatio*; Routh *Rel. Sacr.* iv. 3—17; Field *Hexapla Proleg.* lxxxiv—xciii; P. de Lagarde *Librorum V. T. Canonum Pars prior Graece*, Gottingae, 1883 (*Comp. below*, p. 32). For the creed which bears his name see *Athan. de Synodis* 23; Soer. *H. E.* ii. 10 (*Hahn Bibliothek der Symbole* p. 184).

as a whole was deeply influenced by the two schools above mentioned, and it is convenient at this point to note the character and extent of these influences.

The great Origen, when driven from Alexandria, found a second home in Caesarea. "His removal to Palestine was certainly important in its consequences, an opportunity being thus given him of labouring also from that point for the diffusion of a liberal scientific spirit in the Church; and long were the traces of his activity discernible in these districts"¹. The most cursory survey of Origen's work in Exegesis shews its twofold character. He is at once the most mystic of allegorists and the most scholarly of critics.

The tendency towards transcendentalism was strong at Alexandria, and made its influence felt on interpretation. Philo, following in this the suggestions of the earliest of the Targums, had allegorised the Old Testament². The Neoplatonists had idealised Homer. The same tendency appeared in the Christian Church in the writings of Justin Martyr, of Barnabas, of Clement of Alexandria. But what had been before a pious instinct was moulded by Origen into a system. In his hands the theory of mystical interpretation received the sanction alike of Platonic intuitions and of the Christian Scriptures. A single passage will at once supply a statement of his principles and an illustration of his practice. "Inasmuch as some Scriptures have not the bodily element, we must at times search only for the soul as it were and the spirit of Scripture. And perhaps it was for this cause that the water pots set, as it is written, for the purifying of the Jews, contain two or three firkins apiece. The history (τοῦ λόγου) gives us a hint of those who are, as the Apostle says, Jews in secret, telling us that they are cleansed by the Word of Scripture; and Scripture contains sometimes two firkins, that is, so to speak, the psychic word and the spiritual word (τὸν, ἵνα οὕτως εἴπω, ψυχικὸν καὶ τὸν πνευματικὸν λόγον); and sometimes it contains three firkins;

¹ Neander *Ch. Hist.* ii. p. 474 (*Bohn's ed.*).

² Dr Sanday in the *Expositor* for May, 1880. The Stoics had already set the fashion (Zeller *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics* p. 334 sq. (E. T.)).

inasmuch as in some Scriptures the bodily element (τὸ σωματικὸν) withal over and above the aforesaid elements has the power to edify"¹.

But Origen was much more than the prince of allegorists. "He stands as far first of all the Ante-Nicene Fathers in critical authority as he does in commanding genius, and his writings are an almost inexhaustible store-house for the history of the text...The testimony which Origen bears to the corruption of the text of the Gospels in his time differs from the general statements [of other early writers] as being the deliberate judgment of a scholar and not the plea of a controversialist"². But Origen's work in the sphere of grammatical exposition bore even more lasting and more precious fruit. Here he was breaking new ground. He has the honour of well nigh originating a new method of interpretation³, which is still rich in promise to-day. "In spite of Origen's very patent faults, which it costs nothing to denounce, a very considerable part of what is valuable in subsequent commentaries, whether ancient or modern, is due to him. A deep thinker, an accurate grammarian, a most laborious worker, and a most earnest Christian, he not only laid the foundation, but to a very large extent built up the fabric, of Biblical interpretation"⁴.

Such were the two influences which Origen bequeathed to the Church. The two centres of his work divided the rich inheritance. The Church of Alexandria appropriated that which was most allied to the bent of her genius. Caesarea received and handed on the better part of his bequest. For the School of Antioch, as it will appear, was the expression of a reaction against the undue tendency to allegorise, and developed, on the positive side, a system of exact logical and grammatical interpretation. The leaders of

¹ *Philocal.* 1. § 12.

² Dr Westcott's Art. on "*New Testament*" in *Dict. of the Bible*.

³ Yet see Heracleon's note on Luke xii. 8 quoted in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 9.

⁴ Bp. Lightfoot *Galatians* p. 223. See Redepenning, i. p. 221, ii. 199—212. (Im allgemeinen bleibt das genaue Verständniss des Buchstabens, die streng grammatische Auffassung, Grundlage der weiterer Forschung). Comp. Dr Westcott *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* p. 445.

this school, raised their protest against the Allegorist¹, but were the disciples of the Critic and Scholar. "For its grammatical precision, and for its critical spirit generally, this school was largely indebted to the example of Origen, whose principles were transmitted to it through Lucian of Antioch and Pamphilus of Caesarea, both ardent Biblical critics and both Martyrs in the Diocletian persecution; but in its method of exposition it was directly opposed to the great Alexandrian, discarding the allegorical treatment of Scripture, and maintaining for the most part the simple and primary meaning"².

We pass on to notice the other typical influence which is said to have moulded the teaching of Lucian. The Syrian schools at Edessa and Nisibis stood in a double relation to the Graeco-Syrian School of Antioch. They were the cradle of its infancy; its asylum when in later years its strength was sapped by conflict, and its good name held in contempt³. Christianity early gained a firm position in Mesopotamia, and Edessa is marked out by tradition and history alike as a stronghold of the Faith. There are moreover various indications of vigorous theological movements in these regions. The Syriac Translations of the New Testament reach back into far antiquity. It is probable that the original language of the Diatesseron of Tatian, the contemporary of Justin, was Syriac. The teaching of Bardesanes shews that this activity found strange outlets. And, what is more important for our present purpose, Edessa became the seat of Theological schools, in which Lucian studied under

¹ As Porphyry had done before. Eus. *H. E.* vi. 19, ἀντίγραμμα γὰρ τὰ φανερώς παρὰ Μωϋσεί λεγόμενα εἶναι κομπάσαντες, καὶ ἐπιθειδύσαντες ὡς θεοπισμὰ πλήρη κρυφίων μυστηρίων, διὰ τε τοῦ τύφου τοῦ κριτικῶν τῆς ψυχῆς καταγοητεύσαντες, ἐπάγουσιν ἐξηγήσεις. Comp. *Ἐλεγχος ἀλληγοριστῶν* of Nepos an Egyptian Bishop, whom Dionysius of Alexandria admired and refuted (Eus. *H. E.* vii. 24).

² Bp. Lightfoot *Galatians* p. 224.

³ Kihn *die Bedeutung* p. 79—88 (*Die Mutter- und Töchterschulen zu Edessa und Nisibis*); Eus. *H. E.* ii. 1; Theodt. *H. E.* iii. 21 ("Ἐδεσαν ὡς εὐσεβεῖα κοσμουμένην"); Sozom. *H. E.* vi. i (ἀρχήθεν πανδημεὶ χριστιανίζειν ἔλαχε ἡδε ἡ πόλις). Comp. Soz. *H. E.* iv. 18; Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* iii. ii.

Macarius, and where somewhat later Eusebius of Emesa had his training, not only in the interpretation of Holy Scripture, but also in Greek learning¹. It was not till the beginning of the 4th Century that Nisibis rose into importance under Jacob as teacher and Bishop². In the latter character he was present at the Council of Nicaea. But his chief importance lies in the fact that Ephraim was his pupil. This great Syrian teacher, born probably at Nisibis, continued there till the town was taken by the Persian Sapor, when he found a second home at Edessa. His character as an expositor throws some light on the system of interpretation in vogue in the Syrian schools. His position is a mean between that of Origen and that of the Antiochene School. Theoretically he perhaps sides rather with the latter. If he allows his poetical instincts to carry him at times into fanciful allegory, he also explains words and geographical details, and is at pains to bring out the literal sense. He died in 378. A large number of scholars were enthusiastic in maintaining his teaching³.

In this brief description of the Syrian schools we have

¹ On the Diatesseron of Tatian see Dr Wace's articles in the *Expositor* for Sept. and Oct. 1882, in which the investigations of Zahn are summarised; for Bardesanes Dr Hort's Art. in *Dict. Chr. Biog.*; on the ancient Schools of Edessa Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* iii. ii. pp. 69 sq., 924 sq. (*Antiquae recentisque Scholae Syrorum, Chaldaeorum et Persarum*). "Prae ceteris antiquitate et nobilitate commendatur Schola Edessena, ubi sacras Scripturas interpretabatur Macarius, S. Luciani Presbyteri et martyris magister....Et plures in eadem urbe Scholae exstiterent."

² Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* i. 17 sq., iii. ii. p. 927—929. See art. in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* on Jacob. Perhaps the earliest mention of Nisibis as a Christian centre is in the epitaph of Abercius, Bp. of Hieropolis in Phrygia.

καὶ Συρίῃς πέδον εἶδα καὶ ἄσπερα πάντα, Νίσιβιν,
Εὐφρατὴν διαβὰς· πάντῃ δ' ἔσχον συνομιλῶν.

On the scansion see Bp. Lightfoot *Ignatius* i. p. 481.

³ Sozom. *H. E.* iii. 16; Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* i. 24 sq.; Lengerke *de Ephraemi Syri arte hermeneutica* p. 125—139; *Dict. Chr. Biog.* art. *Ephraim*. Aphraates (different probably from the Aphraates mentioned by Thdt.) "flourished during the second quarter of the fourth century, being junior to Jacob of Nisibis and senior to Ephraim." He is the author of a large number of homilies once assigned to Jacob (Dr Wright's *Homilies of Aphraates*, *Preface*). On another writer Adrianus see Merx *Eine Rede* &c. p. 64—66: his *εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς* is printed in *Critici Sacri* vol. viii. p. 11—23. It is mentioned by Photius *Cod.* ii.

been carried into a later period. We now return to the beginning of the 4th Century.

Lucian united in himself, as we have seen, the results of Origen's scholarly labours and of the cultured piety of Edessa. If Kihn over-states the case when he says, that whatever Origen was to the School of Alexandria, that Lucian was to the Antiochene School¹, yet he was a teacher of no ordinary influence. Several of the most prominent Arians of the next generation boasted of their right to call themselves *Συλλουκ-ιανισται*². But whatever some of his scholars may have become years after his death, the Creed which bears his name is sufficient proof of his orthodoxy, before the use of the word *ὁμοούσιος* was an indispensable guarantee.

Eusebius, who must have known much, tells us in his brief notices of Lucian next to nothing. His life was ascetic; he was well versed in sacred studies; he was a Presbyter of Antioch; before his martyrdom at Nicomedia he made a defence in the presence of the Emperor himself. Jerome mentions some tracts "de Fide" still in circulation, short letters to several friends, and above all his recension of the LXX—a revised text which was in use in the Churches of Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Antioch. It is indeed in connexion with his critical work that Lucian has for us the greatest interest. Neander conjectured that Lucian prepared a revision of the text of the New Testament³, and the question of an Antiochene revision, whether due directly or indirectly to Lucian, is the main problem with which textual criticism has now to deal. Of his Commentary on Job a meagre fragment is still preserved, and it is said that he was acquainted with Hebrew. Jerome and Chrysostom bear witness to his proficiency in classical learning.

Dorotheus shares with Lucian the honour of having laid the foundation of this later School of Antioch. Eusebius, who tells us that "he himself had heard him ably expounding the Scriptures in the Church," depicts him as an eloquent man,

¹ Kihn *Theodor* p. 9.

² The Letter of Arius to Euseb. of Nicomedia, Thdt. *H. E.* i. 4.

³ Neander *History* ii. 498.

a Biblical scholar, able to read *even* the Hebrew Scriptures, distinguished for his general culture and proficiency in Greek learning¹.

Thus the scattered and brief hints which we have reviewed place before us the two men who, if any, deserve the title of founders of the Antiochene School, the one as scholar and critic, the other as scholar and preacher. Their successors, as it will appear, shewed an almost complete indifference in matters of textual criticism. In other departments the work done by Lucian and Dorotheus in the first decade of the 4th Century was fruitful of result.

Of the Lucianists one deserves a brief notice². Eusebius of Emesa³ was a native of Edessa, and there he was trained from his earlier years in the study of Scripture, and later in Greek learning. Subsequently he continued his Biblical studies under Eusebius of Caesarea, and Patrophilus Bishop of Scythopolis. After a residence at Antioch, he migrated to Alexandria that he might avoid the burden of the Episcopate, and became a pupil of the philosophical teachers there. When Athanasius was deposed by a council held at Antioch, his namesake of Nicomedia wished to intrude Eusebius into the see of Alexandria, in the hope that one so pure in life and

¹ φιλόκαλος δ' οὗτος περὶ τὰ θεῖα γεγονώς, καὶ τῆς Ἑβραίων ἐπεμελήθη γλώττης, ὥς καὶ αὐταῖς ταῖς Ἑβραϊκαῖς γραφαῖς ἐπιστημόνως ἐντυγχάνειν. ἦν δὲ οὗτος τῶν μάλιστα ἐλευθερίων προπαίδειας τε τῆς καθ' Ἑλληνας οὐκ ἄμοιρος.....τοῦτου μετρίως τὰς γραφὰς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διηγουμένου κατηκούσαμεν. Eus. H. E. vii. 32. It is tempting to take μετρίως as implying an absence of far-fetched allegorical interpretation. μετρίως does not ill express the characteristics of the later Antiochenes. But the Eusebian use of the word does not allow this; comp. vi. 2 (Heinichen's note), 23.

² On Theodore of Heraclea, Asterius, Eustathius, Meletius, see Kihn *Die Bedeutung* p. 50—54, Hergenröther *Die Antiochenische Schule* p. 14—17. Cyril of Jerusalem also is not unconnected with the School of Antioch (Kihn *Theodor* p. 18).

³ Socrates H. E. ii. 9; Sozom. iii. 6; Jerome Epp. lxx, cxii, *de Vir. Illus.* xci (magisque historiam secutus), cxix. There is a monograph by Augusti on Eusebius, in which the fragments of his writings are collected; another monograph by Thilo shews that three sermons and some fragments assigned by Augusti to Eusebius of Emesa belong to a Eusebius of Alexandria of much later date. Cramer's Catena contains fragments on the Acts, Galatians, 1 Peter, 2 Peter (comp. below, p. 80).

so eloquent would wean the people from their allegiance to Athanasius. But if Eusebius was an Arian, he had learned to estimate rightly the spell of Athanasius' influence, and declined to be made his rival. Shortly afterwards he became Bishop of Emesa, a town on the Orontes. Thus Eusebius is a connecting link between great teachers and great schools of learning. Jerome tells us that he wrote "innumerable books," and that his style was rhetorical and showy. The *Catenae* preserve a few fragments from his commentaries, and among these some brief excerpts from the "Ten books on the Galatian Epistle," which Jerome specially mentions. The same Father notes in the writings of Eusebius the love of the historical method which characterised the Antiochene School.

II. The second main period, the period when the School of Antioch wrought its highest and most permanent work, grew out of a crisis into which were crowded issues of vital moment to the Christian Church. On the one hand under Constantine Christianity became the recognised religion of the Empire. The change in her outward fortunes wrought a corresponding change in the activities of her inner life. Her energies were no longer needed for self-defence, and could be turned into nobler channels. The Apologist became the Interpreter of Holy Scripture. On the other hand it can hardly be doubted that the long struggle with Arianism left its mark on the systems of exegesis prevailing in the Church. Long before, the Gnostic controversies had brought out the authoritative character of the New Testament Scriptures. They were felt to be instinct with a Divine life. The words of Evangelists and Apostles demanded and repaid close and earnest study. And now, when the last great persecution had practically settled the question of the Canon, Arianism raised the question of interpretation. Here was a controversy which was not hushed up in the corner of some obscure diocese. The whole Church, the whole Empire, watched the struggle; and in it not the only weapon, but a very powerful one, was the appeal to Holy Scripture. The works of Athanasius "are one continuous appeal to Scripture." Hence,

when proof texts had to be investigated and their exact bearing on the problem in hand accurately stated and defended, insensibly the Church began to recognise the value of sober, logical, and exact methods of interpretation. Thus it is worthy of remark that Athanasius "has a greater leaning to the literal meaning than we should expect to find at Alexandria. Allegory with him is secondary and ornamental, and never long kept up"¹. The *Blüthezeit* then of the Antiochene School may be regarded as the product of internal proclivities and external circumstances. It is remarkable that Diodore, the teacher of Chrysostom and Theodore, first learned his powers as the champion of orthodoxy in the dark days of Meletius' Exile.

Few men have so profoundly influenced the Church's study of Holy Scripture as Diodore². A fellow student of Basil

¹ Gwatkin *Studies of Arianism* pp. 44, 68.

² The importance of Diodore justifies a fuller note than usual. (1) The ancient authorities are: Socr. *H. E.* vi. 3 (πολλὰ βιβλία συνέγραψε, ψιλῶ τῷ γράμματι τῶν θείων προσέχων γραφῶν, τὰς θεωρίας αὐτῶν ἐκτρεπόμενος); Sozom. *H. E.* viii. 2; Basil *Epp.* cxxxv (a charming letter of friendly criticism), clx (on marriage with a deceased wife's sister), cxliv; Julian *Ep. ad Photinum*; Chrys. *Laus Diodori* (Op. iii.); Theodoret *H. E.* ii. 19, iv. 22, v. 4; Eranistes, *Dial.* i; *Haeret. Fab.* i. 26; *Ep.* xvi. (Migne 83, pp. 80, 381, 1193); Cyril *Epp.* xlv. lxix (Migne 77); Jerome *de Vir. Illus.* cxix; Marius Mercator (ap. *Gallandii Biblio.* viii. p. 705. *Diodori Tarsensis ep. dividētis divinitatem Christi ab ejusdem humanitate*); Facundus *pro Defens. Trium Capit.* iv. 2; Liberatus *Brev.* x; Photius *Codd.* xviii. lxxxv. cii. ccxxiii. ccxxviii; Suidas. (2) Photius *Cod.* xviii. says that Diodore as well as Theodore was condemned by the 5th Oecum. Council 553 A.D. This condemnation does not appear in the acts of that Council, but the 7th Oecum. Council 787 A.D. in the 6th act says in reference to the 5th Council, *ἤτις ἀνεθεμάτισεν...Θεόδωρον τὸν Μοψουεστίας καὶ Θεόδωρον (sic) τὸν καθηγητὴν Νεστορίου*. Harduin iv. p. 348. (3) Migne 33 p. 1559 sq. prints fragments ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ συνοσιαστῶν λόγου, also on Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Judges, 1 Kings, Psalms. There are some fragments on Exodus in a Latin trans. in Pitra *Spicil. Soles.* i. 269. Cramer prints fragments on Romans. (4) The chief modern authorities are Fabricius and Leo Allatius (reprinted in Migne vol. 33); Du Pin *Biblio. Eccles.* ii. 237; Tillemont *Memoires Eccles.* viii. 558 sq., 801 sq.; Cave *Hist. Literaria* i. 266 sq.; Kihn *Die Bedeutung*; A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church Cyril of Alex. on the Incarnation against Nestorius (fragments of Cyril's *Treatise against Diodore* are collected p. 820 sq., on which page is a note on Diodore); Art. in *Dict. Chr. Biog.*

and the future Emperor Julian at Athens, he was ready to become a defender of the faith at Antioch alike against Julian's attempt to restore paganism, and the Arian policy of paganising Christianity. He and Flavian are described by Theodoret as standing firm as rocks to break the waves of heresy. But it was as a teacher rather than as a controversialist or an apologist that Diodore did his greatest work. His influence was indirect, making itself felt through his scholars. The picture which Julian in his bitterest mood draws of the emaciated body, sunken cheeks, deep wrinkles of this assailant of the heavenly Gods, puts before us a man strong in his weakness. The letters of Basil addressed to Diodore shew the respect and affection which he called forth. Such was the Head of the Ascetic Brotherhood, of which Theodore and Chrysostom were members. The greatness of his influence over these teachers must be measured not so much by Chrysostom's panegyric of his master, as by the direct parallels which we can trace between the extant fragments of Diodore and the writings of Theodore, still more those of Chrysostom.

The works of Diodore were voluminous, though little but their names have come down to us. Even so however we see that they included within their range discussions on Plato and Aristotle, on Hipparchus the astronomer, and Porphyry; a criticism of Eusebius the Historian on points of chronology; controversial works, works on Christian doctrine, a work on principles of Biblical interpretation, above all commentaries on a large portion of both the Old and the New Testament. One of Basil's letters, a model of friendly criticism, together with other indications, seems to shew that in literary style Diodore was too prone to diffuseness and rhetorical ornament. There is no doubt however as to the tone of his Biblical Expositions. The express assertion of Socrates that he avoided allegory and investigated the literal sense of Scripture is fully borne out by the remaining fragments of his works. It is said that the Arians burned many of his books; it is certain that he paid a penalty for his influence over his scholars in the suspicion and dislike with which his name together with that

of Theodore was regarded, and later perhaps in the formal condemnation of an Oecumenical Council¹.

It is no part of the present essay to enter at any length into the history of Chrysostom's life. It will be enough to indicate the influences which moulded his mind and character, and the surroundings amidst which he did his work². The life of Chrysostom falls into two main divisions; the first of which comprises some thirty years, years of preparation: the second is a period of a little more than a quarter of a century—the period of active work; and this again is naturally subdivided when the scene changes from Antioch to Constantinople.

(1) "John of Antioch" came of a noble family. The date of his birth cannot be exactly determined. It must however have fallen within those few years of comparative calm in the storm of the Arian controversy, which followed the return of Athanasius to Alexandria in the autumn of 346³. To the early influence of Anthusa, the widowed mother of an only son, we may perhaps trace the tenderness and the insight into home life which in after years not unfrequently startles us in the sermons of the ascetic preacher⁴.

The influence of the Teacher succeeds to that of the Mother. Libanius the rhetorician is not the least interesting

¹ "The Three Great Cappadocians" shew to some extent in their exegesis traces of the same influences and training as the Antiochenes. See Weiss *Die grossen Kappadocier* ii. § 7, 8.

² The chief ancient authorities for Chrysostom's life are enumerated in the art. in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* i. 535; also by Abbé Martin, i. p. i—v. See also the *Testimonia Veterum* Migne 64, 89—115. For modern works see Appendix.

³ On the date of Chrysostom's birth see Tillemont's note, *Memoires* xi. p. 547 (Comp. Abbé Martin i. p. 598). The words of Sozom. *H. E.* viii. 10 (Ἀντιόχος ὁ Προλεμαῖδος...εὐκόλως καὶ μάλα εὐήχως ἔλεγεν, ὡς καὶ Χρυσόστομος πρὸς τινῶν δρομῶν) are most natural, if we suppose that the epithet Chrysostom was becoming appropriated in his lifetime to John the Archbishop.

⁴ It is pleasant to notice Chrys. knowledge of the life of children, e.g. iii. 109, x. 8 A, xi. 230 A. "Comparisonibus a rebus puerilibus ductis admodum delectatur Noster, parvulorum, ni fallimur, amator ardentissimus" (Field, note on x. 8 A). In the British Museum there is an interesting little volume "*The Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom concerning the education of Children* translated out of the Greek by J. E. Esq., London, 1659: dedicated to my most Incomparable Brothers George and Rich. Evelyn."

among the last defenders of paganism. He had studied and taught at Athens, Nicomedia, and Constantinople, before he settled in his native Antioch, to remain there nearly forty years. There he watched with more caution perhaps than enthusiasm the attempt of his imperial friend to restore paganism: there afterwards he wrote the apology for the old-world religion which he addressed to Theodosius. Libanius belonged to the ornate or Asiatic school of rhetoric. His writings "for the most part are the vain and idle compositions of an orator who cultivated the science of words, the productions of a recluse student, whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war, and the Athenian commonwealth"¹. Yet this lingerer in the past was a power, and the Christian Church owes much to the blind sorrowful sophist of Antioch for his part in the training of her typical orator and expositor.

But the influence of friendship had its part to play. Common studies and hopes drew closely together Chrysostom and Basil, a fellow-student in the lecture room of Libanius. The early decision of Basil for an ascetic life of "true philosophy" strengthened, if it did not create, the passion for devotion which became a ruling power in Chrysostom's life.

A new stage in Chrysostom's life of preparation begins with his baptism by Meletius about the year 370. Shortly afterwards relinquishing his hopes of success as an advocate, together with three fellow-students, Basil, Theodore, and Maximus afterwards Bishop of the Isaurian Seleuceia, Chrysostom found a higher scope for his activities in the study of Scripture under Diodore and Carterius. Here the foundations for a vast superstructure were laid. The time of preparation closes with a period of still greater seclusion from the world. About the time of the rescript of Valens, one of the earliest signs that monasticism was spreading deep and wide in the East, Chrysostom retired to a monastic com-

¹ Gibbon ch. xxiv. See Sievers *Das Leben des Libanius* p. 290 on a supposed letter of Libanius to Chrys. Chrys. learned philosophy from Andragathius (Socr., Sozom.).

munity on the heights south of Antioch¹. For a short time he aimed at a more exacting rule as a solitary anchorite, but broken health drove him back to Antioch. So some four years of a life dedicated to the work of prophesying against the corruptions of society were spent in flight from its contamination. So far as we can trace it, the influence of these years on Chrysostom's subsequent life was neither wholly good nor wholly bad. They produced a constitutional delicacy, an ignorance of common life and the character of men, perhaps an impatience and irascibility, which went far to mar his usefulness. On the other hand rich stores of thought and knowledge were then gathered, upon which the active worker could draw afterwards in years of constant demands and of scant leisure.

(2) In the year 381, important in general Church history as marking the paralysis of Arianism within the boundaries of the Empire, the contemplative life for Chrysostom passed into the practical. Meletius, just before he set out for the Council of Constantinople, ordained Chrysostom deacon.

Five years later he was advanced to the Priesthood by Bishop Flavian. The student now becomes the preacher, and Chrysostom as a preacher is before all else the Interpreter of Scripture. Thus with him investigation is not an end in itself. His point of view is that of the scholarly pastor rather than of the accurate, conscientious commentator. Hence the peculiar importance of the associations of time and place.

The twenty remaining years of Chrysostom's life were years of strongly marked characteristics. The days of the Empire were numbered. With the death of Theodosius all claim to greatness passed away. Life was already ebbing. The body, strengthless and decaying, was there. The vultures were gathering for their work. But great dangers have a fascinating power. The revellers who forgot in their story-telling the plague which was ravaging their home are typical. Like them the people of Antioch and Constantinople

¹ Chrys. once refers to the so-called Athanasian life of Anthony, vii. 128 C. He notes the difference between a monk's life and a Bishop's, i. 425.

at the close of the fourth century ate and drank and sold themselves to frivolity, for no one knew what the political morrow might bring.

Turning to the Church, we mark that the long war with paganism was drawing to a close. Outwardly the Church was the conqueror, but the victory was not won without loss. If the Church killed paganism, some of the poison of paganism entered into her own veins. Chrysostom's homilies shew the gravity of the danger.

Again, after a war of half a century Catholicism had deprived Arianism of political power. But Arianism lived as a potent religious influence both at Antioch and Constantinople, and Arianism was backed by a formidable phalanx of other distorted or false faiths—Marcionites, Valentinians, followers of Paul of Samosata, Novatians, Manichaeans, all swelled the motley train. Thus in the hands of Chrysostom the Bible became perforce the manual of the Controversialist.

In passing on to speak of the associations of place we return to the main course of the history.

Antioch, "the Gate of the East" before the establishment and growth of Constantinople, was still the point where the magnificent luxury of the East met the now emasculated and corrupt civilization of the West. In the early days of the Empire the Roman Satirist had described the worst vices of the Eastern world, reaching and contaminating the life of Rome, under the figure of the Orontes flowing down into the Tiber. The city had not mended its ways when Julian visited it some twenty years before Chrysostom's pastorate. "Julian was heathen and serious, Antioch was Christian and frivolous." "I make my escape from a city full of all vices, violence, drunkenness, incontinence, impiety, avarice and impudence."¹ Such was the Emperor's farewell. In a popu-

¹ Libanius *ed. Reiske* i. p. 469. For contemporary pictures of Antioch see Chrysostom *Adversus Judaeos* (i. 587 sq.), *de Statuis ad populum Antiochenum* (21 Homilies); on the Circus and Theatre e.g. iv. 40 sq. 768 sq.; Libanius *Ἀπρυοχικός* (*ed. Reiske* i. 275 sq.); Julian *Misopogon*. Hadrian, the Imperial tourist, met with similar treatment at Antioch (c. 132 A.D.),

lation made up of pagans, Jews, heretics and inconsistent Christians, every vice which characterised an age of disintegration was intensified. The Antiochenes' love for the foulness of the theatre and the barbarities of the racecourse is a sufficient index of their character.

Such were the people to whom Chrysostom preached either in the 'Great Church' or in the 'Church of the Apostles' at least twice a week¹, sometimes on several successive days; such the people who came in crowds to listen open-mouthed to his outspoken denunciations, and enthusiastically to applaud them. It cannot be too carefully remembered that Chrysostom's expositions are the first part of sermons delivered *ex tempore*, though after careful preparation, before these excitable and not very intellectual congregations, expositions interspersed with, and followed by, burning appeals designed to touch the conscience and influence daily life. The conferences of Lacordaire at Notre Dame in their environments and inspirations may serve in some respects to illustrate the preaching of the presbyter of Antioch in the fourth century.

The "economy" which Chrysostom practised upon his friend Basil returned upon his own head, when he was taken and anticipated Julian's verdict. (Merivale *History of the Romans* viii. p. 242 sq.)

For the history and topography of Antioch see Müller *Antiquitates Antiochenae*; for the Christian churches there pp. 102 sq. 120. Waddington and Le Bas give an inscription (No. 2713 a. *Explication des Inscriptions* p. 628) fixing the position of Daphne at Bēit-el-Ma. Renan *Les Apôtres* ch. xii. gives a Parisian photograph of Antioch and the Antiochenes.

As to the number of Christians see Bp. Lightfoot *Comparative Progress of Ancient and Modern Missions* (a paper read before the S. P. G.) p. 84: "At the close of the 4th century, St Chrysostom, who certainly was not likely to underrate their numbers, reckons the Christians of Antioch at 100,000 (vii. p. 810), while he states the whole population of the city to be 200,000 (ii. p. 597). Consistently with this he elsewhere (i. p. 592) speaks of the Christians as the majority of the city (τὸ πλεόν τῆς πόλεως)... The fact is striking enough that 'after Christianity had enjoyed during more than sixty years the sunshine of Imperial favour', the Christians constituted only about half of the population in a city which had had greater advantages than any other."

¹ As to the sermons of ancient preachers and of Chrysostom in particular consult the full discussion and references of Bingham *Antiq.* Book xiv. Ch. iv.

by force to occupy the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople. For six years he bore the unsought burden (398—404). The character of Constantinople¹ did not differ materially from that of Antioch; but the conditions of Chrysostom's labours were changed.

The court of the weak Arcadius was the busy scene of plots and counterplots. Into their dangerous eddies the Archbishop was drawn. The state had perils enough without; but the worst lay within, in the jealousies and cabals of low-born courtiers and scheming women. It is sufficient at this point to recall the names of the Gothic commanders Tribigild and Gainas, of the imperial ministers Rufinus and Eutropius, of the Empress Eudoxia.

The politics of the Court were only too faithfully copied in the politics of the Church. To the "Bishop of New Rome" the Council of the hundred and fifty had assigned "honorary preeminence after the Bishop of Rome." Chrysostom therefore wielded a great, if a somewhat undefined, authority. It was in all probability largely through the influence of his great name that nearly fifty years after his death this "honorary preeminence" was converted into a well-defined jurisdiction². But the reformer himself who used and stretched his authority for the correction of abuses was not spared. The severity of his rule at home, his extension of it abroad, gained him many enemies. The intrigues of ecclesiastics swelled the current of the intrigues of the Court, and at length the Archbishop was overwhelmed.

In the June of 404 Chrysostom became an exile, and such he continued till his death three years later. If the story of his forcible appointment and of the trials which followed reminds us of one of our greatest English primates, the exile of Chrysostom is in some respects a sad contrast to

¹ Chrysostom (rhetorically of course) estimates the Christian population of Constantinople at 100,000; the poor at 50,000 (ix. 93). The Homilies on the Acts supply many vivid pictures of life at the capital. Chrysostom's opinion was:—οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μυριάσις ἑκατὸν εὐρεῖν τοὺς σωζόμενους· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμφισβητῶ (ix. 198).

² See Canon 3 of the Council of Constantinople, Canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon—Hefele *History of the Church Councils* iii. 410 (E. T.).

the exile of Anselm¹. Though the three years spent at Cucusus have been called by Gibbon the most glorious of his life, yet except for his letters to his friends, his literary activity was over². At Constantinople his work as teacher and expositor was marred by the cares of other things; it ended when he left the Imperial City.

This brief review of Chrysostom's life will have thrown some light on his general position as an interpreter of Scripture.

His religious character was the result of steady and sure progress. There was no volcanic outburst of conviction and repentance, as with Augustine, to leave its grim scars behind. Not unconnected with this is another fact. Here too unlike Augustine, unlike Theodore his fellowstudent, Chrysostom was the founder of no school of theologians. No critic can trace to his teaching or influence any shadow darkening the page of later theology. No General Council has anathematised him. No controversy is specially connected with his name. No bigots have ever claimed him as their own. Speaking generally, there is a breadth about his Biblical work, the freedom of one who was not pledged to support a favourite doctrine from every passage or every book.

Chrysostom suggests a parallel between John the Baptist and himself³. It reaches deeper than outward analogies. Ascetic himself, no man ever more powerfully brought religious teaching to bear upon the common life of men. No Commentator ever spoke or wrote more profoundly influenced by the needs of his own generation. Penetrated by love of Scripture, Chrysostom like Luther felt the words of the Bible to be 'living Creatures with hands and feet'⁴.

¹ It may be noted that Chrysostom and Anselm are placed side by side by Dante among "those barefooted meek ones, Who sought God's friendship in the cord" (Dante *Paradise*, *Canto* xii, *Cary's Translation*).

² For Chrysostom's missionary enthusiasm, (1) at Constantinople see xii. 371 sq.; (2) in exile see *Epp.* 14, 53, 54, 123, 126, 207. Comp. Theodoret *H. E.* v. 29, 31.

³ *Socr. H. E.* vi. 18; *Sozom. H. E.* viii. 20.

⁴ The original of this often-quoted phrase occurs in the *Tabletalk* (Luther's *Works* ed. *Walch* vol. 22, p. 70): "Die Worte des Herrn Christi sind am kräftigsten und haben Hände und Füße."

Like Chrysostom Theodore was trained for his future work under Libanius, under Diodore, under Bishop Flavian¹. The boldest and most original of the Antiochenes, he carried out the principles and the tendencies of the school with fearless ability, if not with dangerous self-confidence. As to doctrine, while he was a firm and active champion of the Nicene faith, his position in regard to Christology and Anthropology may be briefly defined as one which strongly, often with exaggeration, upheld the dignity and high destiny of humanity. As an expositor, he is said to have written commentaries on the whole of the Bible. As to the Old Testament he was condemned for making internal character the criterion of Canonicity, rejecting the Book of Job as the Drama of a heathen poet, the Song of Songs as a mere Epithalamium². His views on Messianic Prophecy will call for notice later on. His work on the Epistles of St Paul (for of his New Testament commentaries, with the exception of considerable fragments on St John's Gospel, little else has come down to us) has been thus described by Dr Swete. "On the whole the chief value of Theodore's commentaries on St Paul consists in their constant endeavour to expound the sequence of thought, their careful examination of the clauses and phraseology, their frequent dashes of characteristic and suggestive exegesis, the light they occasionally throw on the condition of the Eastern Church at the beginning of the fifth century, and perhaps not least, the clear and well nigh complete view which they present of the Antiochene theology both in its indebtedness to, and in its divergence from, the theology of St Paul." The works of Theodore, condemned during the Nestorian and Monophysite struggles by the

¹ It is sufficient to give a general reference to Kihn *Theodor von Mopsuestia* and to the Introduction in Dr Swete's Edition of *the Commentary on St Paul's Minor Epistles*. The Greek Fragments are printed in Migne P. G. 66. E. Sachau, *Theodori Mopsuesteni fragmenta Syriaca*, gives the Syriac fragments with a Latin translation. There is a very suggestive Article on *Theodore of Mopsuestia and Modern Thought* in the first number of the *Church Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1875).

² Unlike his master Diodore. ὁ νόμιμος ἐν τῷ ἁμαρτί τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν... οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Σωτὴρ (Fragments on Ps. lxxiv. 14, lxxi. 8).

orthodox Greek Church, were translated, it would appear, into Syriac, Armenian, and Persian, and held a high position among the Nestorians, who gave him the title of The Interpreter.

A brother of Theodore, Polychronius of Apamea, is the next writer who claims our attention. All that is known of his life is contained in the words with which Theodoret closes his Ecclesiastical History. "Polychronius the brother of Theodore was nobly tending (*ἐποίμαινεν*) the Church of Apamea, distinguished for the grace of his speech and the grandeur of his life"¹. The word *ἐποίμαινεν* is ambiguous. In all probability the tense implies that Polychronius was alive when the historian finished his book, the expression itself that he was Bishop of the Church of Apamea. As far as it appears, Polychronius did not extend his exegetical labours beyond the Old Testament. Portions of his commentaries on Daniel, Ezekiel, and Job, and a fragment of a treatise on 'the Reasons of the obscurity of Holy Scripture,' still survive. Even these meagre remains shew that he was more conservative in his views than his brother. He controverts, without however naming him, the theories of the latter on the Book of Job, and quotes from the Book of Ezra and the first Book of the Chronicles. Like others of the Antiochenes he raised a direct protest against the allegorising method of Origen. He appears to have had some knowledge of Hebrew; and in his notes on Daniel he often appeals to the Syriac Version. He further made use of the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. But exegesis appears to have been his strong point, and he is remarkable not only for his accuracy in matters of language, but still more for his tact, his sympathy with his author, and his grammatical and archaeological knowledge. Less diffuse than Chrysostom, free from Theodore's occasional eccentricities, more original

¹ Theodoret *H. E.* v. 39 (καὶ ὁ τούτου δὲ ἀδελφὸς Πολυχρόνιος τὴν Ἀπαμέων ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίμαινεν ἀρίστα, καὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου χάριτι καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου λαμπρότητι χρώμενος). For *ἐποίμαινεν* of the Episcopate cf. ch. 35. There is an apparently exhaustive monograph on this writer by Bardenhewer (*Freiburg*, 1879). Theodoret (*Relig. Hist.* ch. 24) mentions another Polychronius.

than Theodoret, he has been called, "the most genuine Exegete of the Antiochene School."

Severian, Bishop of Gabbala in Syria, first the protégé, afterwards the opponent of Chrysostom, is a far less important member of the Antiochene School. He is described as a man who plumed himself upon his culture, but could not speak Greek without a foreign brogue. Besides several Homilies, fragments from his expositions are frequent in the Catenae. Cramer has published a very large number on the Book of the Acts and on St Paul's Epistles. Severian is not unfrequently the somewhat servile follower of Chrysostom¹.

The name of Theodoret, a native of Antioch and afterwards Bishop of Cyrus, closes this period of growth and activity². In the controversies of his time Theodoret was a prominent actor, and his history belongs to the general history of the Church. Besides his works bearing on contemporary questions and his Ecclesiastical History, commentaries of his have come down to us on difficult passages in the Octateuch and the four Books of Kings, on the Psalms, on all the Prophets, and on the Pauline Epistles. He is emphatic in disclaiming originality in his work³. Yet he fully uses a disciple's privilege of modifying his master's principles. His position in regard to allegorising interpretations is a compromise between the method of the Alexandrians and the strictly historical and grammatical exegesis developed by Theodore. No less remarkable is his revolt from his master in his treatment of Messianic prophecies.

¹ The Sermons on the Creation and on the Serpent may be found in Migne 56, p. 429—516. Another Homily, *els τὰ θεοπάγια*, is given in Migne 65, p. 15—27; where Fabricius' notice of Severian is reprinted. The chief ancient authorities for his life are Socr. *H. E.* vi. 11, 24; Sozom. *H. E.* viii. 10. The Armenian Homilies with a Latin version are edited by Aucher (*Venice*, 1828).

² As to Theodoret see Rosenmüller *Hist. Interpret.* iv. 35 sq., Richter (J. F. C.) *de Theodoro Epp. Paulinar. interprete* (Lipsiae, 1822), and especially on Messianic prophecies, Specht *Der exegetische Standpunkt des Theodore von Mops. und Theodoret von Kyros* (München, 1871).

³ On this point and on his position towards allegorical interpretation compare espec. *Praef. in Pss.* (i. 603), *Praef. in Dan.* (ii. 1054), *Praef. in Proph. Min.* (ii. 1306), *Praef. in Epist. Pauli* (iii. 2).

Theodore claims for all the utterances of the prophets, a very few excepted, an immediate application to contemporary persons or events. Theodoret vindicates for such passages a primary prophetic character. They were spoken in direct reference to the Messiah and to Messianic times. "For application, terseness of expression, and good sense [Theodoret's commentaries on St Paul] are perhaps unsurpassed, and, if the absence of faults were a just standard of merit, they would deserve the first place; but they have little claim to originality, and he who has read Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia will find scarcely anything in Theodoret which he has not seen before"¹.

III. It remains to notice briefly the period of decline, and to point out the directions in which the influence of the Antiochene School made itself felt².

A generation did not pass before the reproach of Chrysostom's exile was, as far as posthumous honours availed, rolled away. The Bishops of the West were strong in the cause of the persecuted Saint, 'the great teacher of the world,' as Theodoret is proud to call him. The name of the Archbishop was admitted first into the diptychs of his own Church; and later the same tardy reparation was made by Cyril, the nephew and successor of Chrysostom's unscrupulous enemy. It was reserved for Chrysostom's pupil, who in 434 became Archbishop of Constantinople, amid enthusiasm which might have recalled the picture which the preacher himself had drawn of the translation of the body of Ignatius, to bring back the martyr's remains to his own city. Thus the censure which had rested on Chrysostom in the closing years of his life only served to increase the veneration which surrounded his name after his death³.

The honour of the teacher himself was vindicated. But already the struggle had commenced which brought suspicion on the school to which he belonged, and completely

¹ Bp. Lightfoot *Galatians* p. 226.

² Comp. Kihn *Die Bedeutung* p. 190; Hergenröther *Die Antioch. Schule* p. 65.

³ Theodoret *H. E.* v. 34—36; Socr. *H. E.* vii. 45.

paralysed its energies. The school had quickly risen to unparalleled influence; it as quickly fell. If the whole Eastern Church suffered irreparable harm in many ways through the Nestorian disputes and the angry and fruitless controversies which sprang from them, the check given to Biblical studies was not the least of these evils. As the scholars of Diodore and their immediate contemporaries died off, no line of teachers arose to take their place.

The originating power of the school ceased; but it is possible to trace its influence working still in three different directions.

(I) If the reputation of Diodore and of Theodore was deeply compromised by their supposed position as fore-runners of Nestorianism, the works of Chrysostom were comparatively unsuspected. It is chiefly through Chrysostom, to some extent through Theodoret, that the Antiochene exegesis survived in the orthodox Eastern Church after the fall of the school.

There were not wanting those who claimed to be the followers of Chrysostom. Isidore, a native of Alexandria, a theologian and eminent ascetic teacher, though not without a tendency to Alexandrian mysticism, on the whole took Chrysostom as his guide in matters of interpretation, as his voluminous correspondence still testifies¹. Nilus a monk of Mount Sinai², Victor a priest of Antioch, were both pupils of Chrysostom, The former commented on the Song of Songs, the latter on the Gospel of St Mark.

But it is in the work of the Greek Catenists from the 6th century and onwards that the influence of the School of

¹ Migne P. G. 78. (α) For Chrysostom see *Epp.* i. 152, 156, ii. 42 (on Chrys. oratorical style), iv. 224. (β) on principles of exegesis, iv. 117 (ἔοικας οὐκ ἀποδέχεσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς θεωρίας τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας παρακαλοῦντας... ἐγὼ δ' οὐτ' ἐκείνους αἰτιασαίμην, εἰ σοφὸν τι ἐξευρεῖν ἐπαγγέλλονται, οὔτε σέ, μὴ βουλόμενον, ἀλληγορεῖν ἀναγκάσαιμι).

² Migne P. G. 79. See especially *Ep.* ii. 223 (ἐάν τι γέγραπται ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἦτε ἐν τῇ νέᾳ ἱστορικῶς γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ φανερώς τότε ἢ τότε πέπραχθαι, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς ἑαυτοὺς νοοῦμεν αὐτὸ ταῖς ἐνθυμήσεσι,...μὴ νόμιζε ὅτι ἡθετήσαμεν τὸ γράμμα, ἢ ἀπώσάμεθα τὴν ἱστορίαν, μὴ γένοιτο).

Antioch is most plainly seen¹. In many cases the exposition of Chrysostom forms the basis of these compilations, and the remains of other of the Antiochenes, Severian, Theodoret, and to some extent Theodore, were laid under contribution.

John of Damascus in the eighth century, Photius in the ninth, Oecumenius in the tenth, Theophylact in the eleventh, contributed but little that was new to the study of exegesis, but all drew largely from the mine of expository wealth which they found in the writings of the Antiochenes, and especially in those of Chrysostom.

(2) From the Greek Church we turn to Syria. When after the Ephesian Council the Nestorians found no protection within the Roman Empire, they sought a refuge in the kingdom of Persia. Political exigences favoured their suit, and in time Nestorianism became the one form of Christianity tolerated in that country².

Edessa, 'the Athens of Syria,' just within the borders of the Empire, had long been the seat of a flourishing school for the education of Persian divines. In this school Nestorian influence now reigned supreme. Ibas, the most prominent of these teachers, translated the works of Diodore and Theodore into Syriac, and himself succeeded his opponent Rabulas as Bishop of the see. Fifty years later (489) the theological school of Edessa was broken up by the Emperor Zeno on account of its Nestorianism. Meanwhile Barsumas, who had been driven from Edessa by Rabulas, had employed an episcopate of more than fifty years in promoting a school of theological learning at Nisibis. Here the fugitives from Edessa found a home, and the energies of both colleges were now brought into a single focus. The effect of this consolidation was great. Till the ninth century the theological school of Nisibis continued its work; it was celebrated for its Biblical studies, which reflected the spirit of Theodore; it

¹ For information about Catenae see Rosenmüller *Hist. Interpret.* iv. p. 215; Noesselt's *Opuscula* iii. p. 323 sq.; Art. in Herzog (*Exegetische Sammlungen*). The ref. in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* is prudently left a blind alley.

² See Kihn *Theodor* p. 198 sq.; Neander *Ch. Hist.* iv. p. 268 sq. (E. T.); Gibbon ch. xlvii; Assemani *Biblio. Orient.* iii. Pt. ii. ch. iii—v, xv.

was the centre of a missionary activity, which played a noble part in spreading Christianity in Eastern Asia.

Thus, while Chrysostom was regarded in the Greek Church as the representative teacher of the Antiochene School, the influence of Theodore, 'the Interpreter,' was supreme in the Churches of the East outside the limits of the Empire.

(3) In the West also the studies of the Antiochenes bore fruit. It must be sufficient to indicate some points of unexpected but immediate contact¹.

It has been pointed out that Pelagius in his commentaries on the Pauline Epistles is indebted to the Antiochenes, especially to Theodore. Had the work of the Western Haeresiarch been preserved entire, it would perhaps have been easier to estimate the exact nature and extent of his debt. But "strangely enough in the middle of the 6th century, when Cassiodorus wrote, learned men assigned [the commentaries of Pelagius] to Pope Gelasius. Stranger still they have at a later time been fathered upon Jerome, and are generally printed in the editions of his works"². Thus Antiochene influence, through the medium of a heretic, took to itself the disguise of the highest names of the Western Church. It is perhaps an even more startling instance of the irony of fate that the commentary of Theodore on parts of St Paul gained currency in the Latin Church bearing the name of Ambrose³.

Again, the Latin church had in all probability to thank another Pelagian, Anianus a Deacon, for the translation into Latin of Chrysostom's Homilies on St Matthew and his Panegetic on St Paul. But it was Cassianus, the father of Western Monachism, who did perhaps more than any other to make

¹ Jerome himself was influenced by, and had points of contact with, the Antiochenes. It will be remembered that about 373 he visited Antioch in company with Evagrius, and that there a vision seen at the crisis of an almost fatal illness caused him to devote himself to the study of Scripture. (*Epp.* iii. 3, xxii. 30. Comp. Kihn *Die Bedeutung* pp. 59, 194.)

² Bp. Lightfoot *Galatians* p. 229.

³ "That his work survived is due to the protection of St Ambrose's name, which has covered at once the faults of the Latinity, and the theological eccentricities of the original" (Swete i. p. lviii).

the influence of the Antiochenes felt in the West. Closely connected with Chrysostom during the last two years of his work at Constantinople, holding him in loving and reverent remembrance, he could not fail to inspire those whom he gathered round him in his monastery at Marseilles with something of his own feeling. It has indeed been conjectured that here or in some allied monastery in Gaul, the Latin translator of Theodore must be sought¹. At least it is a striking fact that the man who influenced the monasticism of the middle ages at its source, had been united by close ties to Chrysostom.

One other special point of contact between the Antiochene School and the West remains. Primasius, the Bishop of Adrumetum, chanced to be one of a deputation of African Bishops which, a few years before 550, waited on the Emperor Justinian. At the Court he met with Junilius, a fellow-countryman, high in office. In answer to Primasius' questions as to Eastern Theologians, Junilius told him of, and finally undertook to translate for his benefit, an introduction to the Scriptures by Paul of Nisibis. This Paul, 'the Persian,' afterwards Metropolitan of Nisibis, had been, it would appear, the teacher of Junilius, and had himself received his theological education in the school at Nisibis under Mar Abbas. As we have already seen, the works of Theodore were held in the highest estimation there; and Kihn has shewn that the 'Instituta regularia divinae legis' of Junilius is in fact nothing more than a summary of Theodore's teaching alike on Biblical questions and on matters of doctrine. Again therefore we mark the irony of history. Admiring copyists and scholars of after days transformed the translator into an author, the courtly layman into a Bishop; while a treatise which contained the quintessence of the condemned opinions of Theodore gained favour in the West, and took its assured place among the Fathers of the Church².

¹ Dr Hort (*Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* iv. p. 308), cf. Swete i. p. liii.

² The second Part of Kihn's *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus* is devoted to a minute investigation of the whole subject. He shews that

Ancient Libraries are indeed 'temples of silence and reconciliation'¹.

Junilius' title *illustris* was an official one; and this fact in connexion with a passage from Procopius indicates that his office at the Court was that of *Quaestor sacri palatii* (p. 236—244).

¹ I can only briefly touch on the question of Chrysostom's influence in later times. Thus the Martyr. of Beda (?) (Migne *P. L.* 94 p. 825) "vi Kal. Febr. Natale sancti Joannis...qui verbo atque exemplo plurimum profuit Christianae religioni." At the Reformation Chrysostom's authority stood probably far higher in England than on the Continent. Luther's genius found little that was congenial in the monk-like Bishop. His commentaries were too prolix (*Works ed. Walch* 22, pp. 69, 2053). In Colet's works, as edited by Mr Lupton, I find but two direct references. On the other hand Erasmus (Ep. 1150) writes of him, "hic sic miscuit utile dulci ut nemo felicius. Sed inter varia spiritus dona, praecipue in illo eminet τὸ διδασκικόν." Cranmer in his Preface to the Bible (1540) quotes a long passage "written by the noble doctor and most moral divine, St John Chrysostom." Elsewhere his references to him are frequent. In the Homilies "the learned and Godly doctor Chrysostom" is quoted more often than any other Father except Augustine. In the elaborate index to the *Parker Society* Series references to Augustine fill 37 pages, those to Chrysostom 15, those to Jerome 14. He is the only commentator, I believe, to whom reference is made in the margin of the Author. Version (Acts xiii. 18). The familiar collect has made his name known to every English Churchman.

CHAPTER II.

CHRYSOSTOM AS AN INTERPRETER OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE first question which confronts us in an endeavour to examine more in detail Chrysostom's principles and practice as an Interpreter of the Old Testament is, what knowledge had he of the original¹. Few of the Greek Fathers were in any real sense Hebrew scholars, and Chrysostom was not

¹ A few words must be added on the subject of the Canon. Unlike Theodore, who is said to have rejected Job, Canticles, 1, 2 Chronicles and Ezra (Kihn *Theodor* p. 61—87. Comp. p. 472, for Junilius), Chrys. "adheres purely and simply to the Canon of the Septuagint" (Reus *Hist. of the Canon* p. 176, E. T. Comp. Kihn *Die Bedeutung* p. 90 and refs. in Dr Westcott's art. *D. B. i.* 258).

In this connexion the *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, which bears Chrysostom's name, is of importance. The following points may be briefly noted. (1) It is in all probability the genuine work of Chrys., for (a) Expositions thoughts and phrases characteristic of Chrysostom's undoubted works find a place in it: comp. Migne 56, p. 309—312: (b) the Canon of the New Testament coincides with that one which appears to have been recognised by Chrys. comp. below, p. 79; (c) in the three MSS. which contain it it bears Chrysostom's name. (2) Of these three MSS. two i.e. Cod. Coislinianus and Cod. Lugdunensis (once the property of Isaac Voss) were used for the printed text; the third was part of Bryennius' great discovery. In his edition of the διδασκ (p. ρθ—ρμζ') he collates the text of his newly discovered Codex (Codex Hierosolymitanus) with the printed text of Migne. It is perhaps sufficient to say that, judging by the various readings noted in Migne, Cod. Hieros. is independent of the MSS. already known, but agrees both as to its lacunae and as to its text far more with Cod. Coisl. than with Cod. Lugdun. It gives the Synopsis of the last five of the Minor Prophets, which is omitted in both the other MSS. (3) The Canon of the O.T. which it presents includes, without any indication of inferiority, the following of the Disputed Books, viz., Esther, Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus.

one of these few¹. A brief examination of one or two passages sufficiently shews that whatever knowledge of Hebrew he seems to possess comes from tradition or from hearsay.

Thus in commenting on the creation Chrysostom notices and condemns the opinion of some that there are many Heavens. "Those," he says, "who are well learned in Hebrew tell us that the word for Heaven is plural in that language, and those who know the Syrian tongue make a like admission...So the phrase 'the Heaven of Heavens' is not used by David because there are many Heavens, but because it is the usage of Hebrew to employ the plural in speaking of a single thing" (iv. 26).

Again, the description of the king "fairer than the children of men" is under discussion*. The Commentator finds a certain awkwardness in the expression, 'oil of gladness.' Hence to the ἀγαλλιάσεως of the LXX. and the ἀγλαΐσμου of another translator (Symmachus), he adds a transliteration of the Hebrew and a revised version—Σασών,

¹ Some at least of these connected with the School of Antioch knew something of Hebrew: Dorotheus (Eus. *H. E.* vii. 32. 2); Lucian (as seems to be implied by the fact of his work on the LXX); Eusebius of Emesa (see refs. in Diestel *Geschichte* p. 127); Diodore (e.g. frag. on Gen. i. 2 τὸ ἐπεφέρετο μία μὲν ἐστὶ λέξις παρ' Ἑβραίοις, παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ διὰ μιᾶς λέξεως οὐκ ἂν παρασταίῃ. βούλεται γὰρ ἡ Ἑβραϊκὴ λέξις ἢ τοῦ ἐπεφέρετο σημαίνειν, ὅτι καθάπερ ὄρνις ὡς θάλλει ταῖς πτέρυξιν ἀπαλῶς ἐφαπτομένη εἰς τὸ ζωογονεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπεφέρετο τοῖς ὕδασι ζωοθαλοῦν; comp. frags. on ii. 23, xi. 17, xxii. 14, 15 &c.). I do not know whether the following note on Ex. vi. 5, remarkable notwithstanding its confusion, has escaped notice:—ἐστὶ τὰ τέσσαρα τοῦ ὀνόματος γράμματα ταῦτα, Ἰὼθ, Ἀλῆρ (?= Ἀλῆφ), Ὀὐ, Ἀρέ· τοῦ δὲ αἰεὶ ζῆν καὶ αἰδῖον εἶναι θεὸν σημαντικὸν ὄνομα τοῦτο...ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ δαίμονες θεοὶ καὶ κύριοι ἀνομάσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπευόντων αὐτοὺς, τὸ τετράγραμμον ὄνομα ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ τότε ἀνέκφραστον τοῖς πιστοῖς. The transliteration seems to represent יְיָ הוּא ה' the divine name being יְיָהוּ (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. p. 666, comp. יְיָהוּ Iren. i. iv. 7). It may be added that Chrys. on Gen. ii. 15 identifies *Lord* and *God* as to meaning, thus trying to vindicate the Son's equality, e.g. in 1 Cor. viii. 6; and that Thdt. (Exod. Qu. xv.) gives two forms יְיָהוּ and אֵיִד; Theodoret (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* ii. p. 868. Specht (*Der exegetische Standpunkt* p. 10) gives a lower estimate. On Theodore's ignorance of Hebrew see Kihn *Theodor* p. 80. Foerster's language (p. 17) as to Chrysostom is altogether misleading.

* v. 179. Comp. the phrase frequent in Isaiah הִתְהַלַּךְ בְּשִׁבְעָה. The root שָׁוָה means primarily to leap (Gesen. *Thesau.* sub voce).

τουτέστι καλλωπισμοῦ, δόξης, κόσμου. Etymology and usage alike seem decisive for the accuracy of the LXX. (Comp. vi. 86.)

The interpretation of Hebrew names does not always fare well at the preacher's hands. Thus, the name Adam is explained to mean, 'the earthy one' (ὁ γήϊνος). Eden, it is added, signifies 'the virgin Earth.' "And if any one does not believe this, let him question those who are well skilled in Hebrew and he will see that this is the interpretation of Eden." But hence comes a side-light on Adam's name. He is called after his mother—'Εκείνη 'Εδὲμ, οὗτος 'Αδάμ¹. Noah means 'rest': but rest is synonymous with death (Job iii. 23 LXX.); and so the patriarch's name becomes a prophecy of the flood. The addition of a single letter changes 'Αβραμ, which as "those learned in Hebrew know means *περάτης*," into 'Αβραάμ, 'a father of many nations.' A parallel is found in the name of the Patriarch's wife, but here the preacher wisely abstains from hazarding an interpretation. Seraphim, to take but one more example, is represented as a compound word signifying 'burning mouths' (ἔμπυρα στόματα)².

The impression that Chrysostom was no Hebrew scholar is confirmed when we pass on to review his use of the Greek versions.

The account which Chrysostom gives of the origin of the Septuagint is characteristic. Unlike earlier Christian writers, such as Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, unlike his contem-

¹ iii. 112. This is from Diodore, Frag. on Gen. i. 23. Severian is characteristically stupid and pretentious (Migne 56, 474 sq.). Man should fill the four corners of the world. Hence his name,—*ἄλφα ἀνατολή, δέλτα δύσις, ἄλφα ἄρκτος, μὴ μεσημβρία*. (Or is this a sly parody of Theodore's doctrine of man's nature?) But again *ΔΤΝ, ΨΝ, ΨΝ* are confused: *τῇ γὰρ Ἐβραία ποιήσωμεν πῦρ*.

² vi. 66. Comp. i. 468, where Cherubim is explained to mean 'perfected knowledge.' If the frags. on Job (Migne 64, 503—656) and on Jeremiah (ib. 739—1038) are Chrys. work, it will be noted that (1) the references to the Hebrew are far more important and frequent, e.g. on Jer. i. 11, ii. 21, vii. 18 &c.; (2) the versions are quoted by name and in detail, e.g. on Job xix. 26, *ὁ μέντοι Θεωδοτίων ἐκδοὺς ὁ ἀγχιστεύς μου ζῆ καὶ ἐσχατον ἐπὶ χρώματος ἀναστήσει, πείθει συνάπτει τοὺς δύο στίχους καὶ οὕτως ἀναγινώσκειν κ.τ.λ.*

poraries, Epiphanius in the East, and Augustine in the West, he takes no account of the myths which had sprung up round the early history of this Version. With him the history is part of a long story of providential care watching over the Bible. "When war arose the prophets were slain, the sacred Books were burned. But God inspired another wonderful man Ezra, so that from the fragments which remained he re-wrote the Books¹. Then God so ordered it that they should be translated by the Seventy. They translated them: the Christ comes: He receives them: the Apostles carry them abroad to all men....How should the Syrian, the Galatian, the Macedonian, the Athenian have known what was spoken of the Prophets, had the Scriptures continued in their obscurity?...Three hundred years before the birth of Christ Ptolemy King of Egypt, in his anxiety to perfect his library, determined to add thereto these Jewish Books. He sent therefore for some Jews from Jerusalem and commanded them to translate the Books into Greek. And the strange and marvellous thing is," adds Chrysostom with possibly a glance at more credulous exponents of the history, "that it was no lover of the Jews' religion who took this task in hand, but an idolater and an enemy of their worship"².

Such is Chrysostom's account of the origin of the great Greek Version. If modern criticism holds that it was the creation of a literary period rather than a work manufactured to a royal order, yet the story as told by Chrysostom has in it nothing to shock common sense.

Recent investigations seem to confirm the obvious conjecture that the particular edition of the Septuagint used by Chrysostom was that usually called *ἡ κοινή*. It was the

¹ Theodoret (*Praef. in Cant.*) is more explicit. *ὁ μὲν Ἑσδρας ταῦτα συνέγραψεν, οὐκ ἐκ ἀντιγράφων δὲ ἔγραψεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Πνεύματος πλήρης γενόμενος.*

² xii. 20, vi. 183, iv. 26. Jerome casts aside with scorn the fables which Chrysostom rejects in silence. See *Praef. in Pent.* It may be further noticed that (1) Chrys. once inadvertently countenances the common account: *διὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν...πιστεύεσθαι δίκαιοι* vii. 76; (2) Chrys. mentions a singular tradition that the original copy was still preserved in the Temple of Serapis (i. 595).

work of the martyr Lucian, and according to Jerome was in use in the churches from Constantinople to Antioch¹.

But besides the Septuagint, Chrysostom in his commentary on the Psalms often refers, though I think never by name, to the Greek Versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. And further, as he frequently adds a transliteration of the Hebrew and makes use of renderings which cannot be identified with those of the above-named versions, it seems certain that he used the Hexapla of Origen².

How did Chrysostom use these helps? The great Father of the Western Church "appears to have recognised a prophetic spirit [in the translators of the Septuagint], and not to have doubted that the same spirit which dictated the original did also guide them and preserve them from all error; so that he will not allow any such in their Version, and is in nothing offended by some plain deviations of theirs from the original text"³. Chrysostom, as we shall see,

¹ For a discussion of Lucian's work see Field's *Hexapla*, *Proleg.* lxxxiv—xciii. He says "Chrysostomus et Theodoretus, quos Luciani editionem, ab ecclesia Antiochena usu receptam, legisse consentaneum est." Kihn *Theodor* p. 89 concludes that the use of the Lucianic recension by the Antiochenes is probable, but that a decision in so intricate a question is very hard. Paul de Lagarde has further investigated the matter. Four codices (viz. 19, 82, 93, 108 of Holmes and Parsons) had been noticed to represent a remarkable recension of the text. To these Lagarde adds a fifth. Certain blunders shew that they are derived from an uncial archetype. He next shews that the text which these MSS. give in 1 Kings (1 Samuel) agrees with that found in Chrysostom's quotations and differs from the text alike of the Vatican and of the Alexandrian MSS. Moreover he is of opinion that the text of Ulfilas' version agrees with that of these MSS. Putting these facts side by side with the well-known notice of Jerome (*Praef. in Libr. Paralip.*) de Lagarde concludes that it is possible to restore the Lucianic text. (P. de Lagarde *Librorum V. T. Canonicorum Pars Prior Graece*, 1883; cf. the same scholar's *Ankündigung einer neuen Ausgabe der griech. Uebersetzung des A. T.* p. 26 sq.)

² It appears that, though the whole work was not in circulation, copies of the Septuagint text together with selected readings from the other versions were issued under the direction of Pamphilus and Eusebius (*Dict. Chr. Biog. Art. Hexapla*).

³ Archbp. Trench *Augustine on the Sermon on the Mount* p. 18. Comp. Cyril of Jerus. *Cat. iv.* 84 ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου ἡ τῶν ἁγίων Πνεύματος λαληθειῶν θέλων γραφῶν ἐρμηνεία συνετελείτο. Contrast Chrysostom's words, πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετηνέχθη γλῶσσαν ἡ Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη χρησίμῳ σφόδρα καὶ

shewed in practice too implicit a trust in his guide; but at any rate he enters on his work with no light-hearted confidence. He distinctly places the fact that the Old Testament was read in a translation among the reasons of its greater obscurity¹.

The preacher does not make much use of the differing versions. They are not his armour and he has not fully tried them. Commonly therefore even if he mentions their variations, he contents himself with discussing the Septuagint text alone. There are however exceptions to this rule, and one or two, which are instructive, may be noticed².

Psalm viii. 3. LXX. *ἐνεκα τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου*. "Another translator," adds Chrysostom, "describing these enemies more exactly, has *διὰ τοὺς ἐνδεσμοῦντάς σε*: for they bound Him as He was led to the Cross."

ἀναγκάως (vi. 183). Theodore was extravagant in his view of the LXX (Kihn *Theodor* p. 88). Thus e.g. on Zeph. i. 6, *πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἀνόητον νομίζειν ὅτι οἱ μὲν Ἑβδομήκοντα κ. τοσοῦτοι κ. τοιοῦτοι οὕτω δεδοκιμασμένοι διεσφάλλοντο περὶ λέξιν, οἱ καὶ πρὸ πάσης ἐρμηνείας ἤδεσαν πάντως τὸ ἐν τῇ θεῇ κείμενον γραφῇ*; Hody *de Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus Ozon.* 1705 (Lib. iii. Pars i. cap. vii) gives a full account of the views which the Greek Fathers took of the authority of the LXX. I do not think he has authority for saying of Chrys., "LXX interpretationem caeteris omnibus antepōnit, ob miraculum LXX cellularum &c."

¹ vi. 183. Comp. Diodore *Frag. on Gen.* i. 2. *τὰ ἐφ' ἑτέρας γλώττης εἰς ἑτέραν μεταγόμενα νοήματα, εἰ τις καὶ τῇ λέξει δουλεύειν ἀφ' ἧς ἡρμήνευται πειρώτο, καὶ ταύτην μετάγειν, ἀποσφαλθήσεται τῆς διανοίας*. See page 69 n.

² Comp. Chrys. on Ps. cxxxviii. 16 (v. 416), *ἀσαφὲς τὸ εἰρημένον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἐκ τῆς ἀκολουθίας καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐρμηνεύειν αὐτὸ θηρεῖσαι*. But four verses below Chrysostom cites the vv. without remark, though the divergence in sense is wide. It is in the Psalms that Chrysostom chiefly uses the vv., but not only there; see e.g. on Gen. ii. 23. Two other points deserve notice. (1) Mr Field in the Introduction to the Hexapla states that Chrysostom refers to the Syrian Version three times, viz. on Gen. iv. 4 (xii. 204), Ps. xlviii. 6, Gen. xxii. 12. Has he overlooked Is. vii. 18? Diodore often refers to ὁ Σύρος, e.g. fragments on Gen. xxiii. 13, xxiv. 2, xxxvi. 24. Theodore speaks roughly of this version; *ἡρμήνευται δὲ ταῦτα εἰς μὲν τὴν Σύρων παρ' ὅτου δῆποτε: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγνωσται μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ὅστις ποτε οὕτως ἐστι*. On Soph. i. 5 (cf. on iii. 1, Hab. ii. 11). (2) Chrysostom cites the vv. anonymously, unlike Diodore (*Frag. in Gen.* i. 26, ii. 23, xvii. 4), Polychronius (*Bardenhewer* p. 41) and Theodoret. Theodore does not notice the vv. on the Minor Prophets; he does so in the fragments on the Psalms (Kihn p. 90). On the fragments of Chrysostom in Job and Jeremiah, see page 30 n.

Psalm viii. 6. LXX. δόξη καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας (דָּוִדִּים) αὐτόν. ἄλλος, δόξη καὶ ἀξιώματι στέφεις αὐτόν. Two expositions are possible, the one historical, the other figurative (κατὰ ἀναγωγήν). The one dwells on the glory of man at the creation: the other has in view the glory of redemption, whereby "we are partakers of the Heavenly benefits, and are called to communion with the Only Begotten." Such is in brief Chrysostom's comment. The two interpretations are made to answer to the two versions cited.

Psalm cxix. 4. LXX. σὺν τοῖς ἄνθραξι τοῖς ἔρημικοῖς. ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἑρμηνευτῆς, ... μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐστοιβασμένων. καὶ ἕτερος δὲ, σὺν ἀνθρακίαις ἀρκευθίναις. The former of the last two renderings emphasises the idea of multitude, the latter lays stress on the nature and the violence of the retribution. The Septuagint, Chrysostom adds, expresses the same general notion; for ἔρημικοῖς is made equivalent to ἑρημοποιοῖς.

Psalm vii. 12. LXX. μὴ ὀργὴν ἐπάγων καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν... ὁ δὲ Ἑβραῖος, κατὰ πᾶσαν ζωὴν. Here Chrysostom appears, contrary to his custom, to give a revised translation of the Hebrew. The explanation is not far to seek. The Hebrew hemistich is: וְיֹאֵל יָעַם בְּכָל־יוֹם. יָעַם probably appeared in the second column of the Hexapla as ζωήμ; this in Chrysostom's copy was corrupted into ζωήν. The commentator is betrayed by the context into confusing a transliteration with a translation¹.

Chrysostom however, like all the Greek Fathers, is wont to use the Septuagint as a final authority and to argue from it as if from the original. For example, he draws attention to the use of the same Greek word in two passages. In

¹ Montfaucon however differently: "Coislin. bomb.: Ἑβρ. ζωννή. Lege ζωώμ." Chrysostom following Aquila interprets the mysterious *Selah* to mean *del*, taking it as part of the preceding clause. See e.g. v. 153, 421, 423. The probably spurious *Prooemia in Psalmos* explains the term as marking the point of transition from one choir to another. Other passages on which Chrysostom discusses the versions are Pss. xlv. 5, cxi. 3, cxii. 3. The question as to παρθένος and νεάνις in Isaiah vii. 14 (see Chrysostom on Matt. i. 23) is as old as Justin.

commenting on the words *καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον* (Gen. ii. 8) he deprecates a too mechanical interpretation of the word *ἔθετο*, noting that the word had been already used: *καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* (i. 17). "God *commanded* the stars to be in heaven as He *commanded* the man to dwell in Paradise"¹. But the Hebrew is in the one case *יָצַו*, in the other *שָׂם*.

A similar mistake is made where greater issues are concerned. Chrysostom gives five reasons which shew that 'the oracle of Jehovah' (Ps. cx. 1) is not addressed to a mere man. They are, (1) the words, 'Sit Thou on my right hand': (2) the fact that the same title *Lord* is used alike of the Speaker and of Him to whom He speaks²: (3) the words, 'From the womb before the Daystar did I beget Thee': (4) the ascription to Him of the Priesthood 'after the order of Melchizedek': (5) the words 'With Thee is the rule' (v. 3). Of these five arguments three fail on reference to the Hebrew. The second is an illustration of the particular point under consideration. The third, it may be added, is a commonplace with Chrysostom and with the Greek Fathers in general. The words of the Septuagint are, *ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε*. Chrysostom takes them as a clear proof of the Lord's Divinity. But another interpretation had been started. "Those," he says, "who wrest the words to their own imaginings explain them in reference to the night in which the Lord was born. He was born before the dawn."³ But against this exposition Chrysostom has two objections.

¹ So Diodore and Theodore.

² Chrysostom notices that some explain 'my lord' as referring to Abraham, others as referring to Zerubbabel, "like men who are drunken and cannot speak reasonably." ("Eine Auslegung, die ohne Zweifel vom strengen Standpunkt der antiochenischen Schule aus, wahrscheinlich von Theodor selbst, gegeben war." Foerster p. 28). Others, he might have added, explain of Hezekiah (Justin Martyr *Dial.* 250 D, 309 B).

³ Justin implicitly gives this interpretation *Dial.* 286 D, 302 B; so Tert. *adv. Marc.* v. 9. Athanasius gives the same general sense as Chrysostom. τὸ γὰρ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ πρὸ τῆς σαρκώσεως τοῦ λόγου (*Or. c. Ar.* iv. 27, 28). Theodore refuses the temporal interpretation of πρὸ in Ps. lxxi. 17, εἰ γὰρ τὸ πρὸ ἐπὶ χρόνου λέγει καὶ προῦπαρξεν, πῶς τὸ διαμένει;

It confuses the functions of a prophet, who gives for the most part dark hints, with those of an evangelist. Again, it disregards the special phrase used. The true parallel is not *δεῖ...πρὸ ἀνατολῆς φωτὸς ἐντυγχάνειν σοι* (Wisd. xvi. 28), but *πρὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διαμενεῖ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* (Ps. lxxi. 17).

Again, the Septuagint rendering of Isaiah vii. 16 (*πρὶν ἢ γνῶναι τὸ παιδίον ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν, ἀπειθεῖ πονηρίᾳ (τοῦ) ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν*) supplies the preacher with an equally precarious argument for the sinlessness of the Lord¹.

As to variations of the Septuagint from the Hebrew where numbers are concerned, two examples may suffice. Chrysostom lays stress on the words of the Septuagint at the close of the history of Creation. 'On the *sixth* day God ended His work' (*ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ* Gen. ii. 2). "See," he says, "how Scripture repeats the same thing once and again to shew us that before the sixth day closed all the works of creation were finished." Again, the Septuagint records the cry of the prophet Jonah thus: 'Yet *three* days and Nineveh shall be overthrown.' Chrysostom does not go so far as St Augustine, and knowingly set up the 'three days' of the Septuagint against the 'forty days' of the Hebrew as having a meaning and authority of its own. But the verse was a favourite one with him and he is fond of drawing lessons from the shortness of the warning².

More than once Chrysostom takes a blunder of the Septuagint in the inscription of a Psalm as giving the key-note for its interpretation. Thus the inscription of the fifth Psalm, *ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομώσης*, suggests an elaborate parable. 'Eye hath not seen' the inheritance to which the Church is heir. It will be given in its fulness hereafter. The Bible is the

¹ Theodore uses this passage in connexion with his doctrine of the Divine indwelling in Christ *κατ' εὐδοκίαν*. He says, *ἀγνοοῦντα εὐρίσκομεν· ἐπεὶ περ καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ συνεισεφέρετο* (Dr Swete ii. p. 297).

² e.g. ii. 282, 311, iv. 226, xi. 79. On Augustine see Archbp. Trench, p. 18. Ephraim the Syrian notes the discrepancy between the Hebrew and Greek, and decides that both are right (*Assemani Biblio. Orient.* i. 70, 71). See also as to Hebrew numbers Chrysostom on Dan. ii. 1 (vi. 206).

title-deed. The cry 'Give ear to my words, O Lord,' with which the Psalm begins, becomes the prayer of the Church, the heir, to Christ her Divine Bridegroom.

The inscription of the next Psalm according to the Septuagint is *ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης*. The life of man in its brevity is but a week. It is soon over. The eighth day, i.e. 'the great and notable day of the Lord,' comes. In view of this awful judgment the Psalmist exclaims, 'O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger.'

The Greek inscriptions of Psalm xliv (xlv) have for Chrysostom a controversial value. The *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων* is a prophecy of Christianity. Christ has made for us 'a new creation': all things are changed. When another translator (Symmachus) uses the phrase *εἰς τὸν ἀγαπητόν* to represent the Hebrew, 'A Song of Love,' Chrysostom finds the reference to Christ unmistakable: *εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ὁ ψαλμὸς οὗτος ἀναγέγραπται*. Only the preacher would have had the Jews among his congregation that he might have refuted them out of their own mouth.

Sometimes, it must be added, Chrysostom slips in his interpretation of the language of the Septuagint. Thus in the description of the Vineyard in Isaiah v, the Greek word *κέρας* is a natural equivalent for the Hebrew קֶרֶן, denoting the eminence on which the vineyard was planted. But with Chrysostom the reference is to the horn of the ox, and the metaphor suggests the idea, on the one hand of Divine protection and security, on the other of height: *υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα καὶ ὕψωσα*. Again, the closing words of the prophecy of Emmanuel's wonderful birth have been differently rendered, nor is the Septuagint quite clear. But nothing can be said for Chrysostom's comment: "The land, which thou fearest (*ἦν σοὶ φόβῃ*), i.e. for which thou art afraid (*ὑπὲρ ἧς δέδοικας, ὑπὲρ ἧς τρέμεις*), shall be forsaken (*καταλειφθήσεται*), i.e. shall be untouched, free, it shall endure none of the horrors of war (*ἀνέπαφος ἔσται, ἐλευθέρᾳ ἔσται κ.τ.λ.*)."

To sum up, Chrysostom, knowing nothing of the original Hebrew, accepted the Septuagint Version with its unequally

distributed felicities of expression and translation, its obscurities, its obvious mistakes. When we consider him as an expounder of the Old Testament, we really consider him as the expounder of the great Greek Bible which contributed no small share to the heresies and misconceptions, but played a noble part in the building up, of the Christian Church.

The ground is now cleared for an investigation of Chrysostom's treatment of the Old Testament. The questions suggested have an immediate and special bearing on the anxieties of our own days. "Christianity can never separate itself from its historical basis on the Religion of Israel; the revelation of God in Christ cannot be divorced from the earlier revelation on which our Lord built"¹. Here is a principle which is, or ought to be, disputed by none. But its admission raises two questions: (1) What are the true methods of interpretation in the case of the Old Testament? (2) What is the history of interpretation? Has the system pursued been so honeycombed by uncritical credulity that it can only be cast aside with contempt? The scholar just quoted gives one answer to this question. "The method of tropical exegesis...reigned supreme in the Old Catholic and Mediæval Church. The ancient fathers laid down the principle that everything in Scripture which, taken in a natural sense, appears unedifying must be made edifying by some method of typical or figurative explanation"².

In dealing with Chrysostom we are dealing with a representative of a great exegetical school in 'the Old Catholic Church.' As a preacher he was naturally more prone to 'make Scripture edifying' than other members of the school of Antioch³. If he is not wholly deserving of this sweeping condemnation, an important exception has been proved.

We must not of course expect to find in a preacher of the

¹ Prof. Robertson Smith *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, preface, p. vii.

² *Ib.* pp. 7, 390.

³ Foerster *Chrysostomus* p. 16.

fourth century, any more than in an ancient historian, the precision and rigid consistency which a critic of the nineteenth century would demand. It must be enough to gather what is the general tone of his treatment of the Old Testament.

It is significant that Chrysostom is said to be the first writer who uses absolutely the very familiar term τὰ βιβλία, the Bible. There was in his view one library of Books, bound to each other by strong and mysterious ties, and separated from all other literature. This was a leading conception with him, strengthened by the exigences of the times¹.

The earliest Christian literature discloses to us the picture of the Christian Church with the Old Testament in her hand 'opening and alleging that Jesus was the Christ.' The Old Testament is her text-book alike for instruction and for controversy. But this view was fiercely assailed by various Gnostic sects which grew up in the first half of the second century, notably by the Marcionites. The frequent mention of this sect by Chrysostom in sermons delivered both at Antioch and at Constantinople sufficiently shews that its vitality was not exhausted². But its mantle was already falling upon another sect rising into vigorous life. In a sermon delivered probably after he had become Archbishop of Constantinople Chrysostom speaks of the Manichæan heresy as still the youngest of a large and varied family (xii. 89). In the same passage he gives to the Marcionite the first place. In regard to the Old Testament the youngest

¹ Suicer's *Thesaur. sub vocibus βιβλία, βιωτικός*. The passage referred to is xi. 391 (on Col. iii. 16), ἀκούσατε, παρακαλῶ, πάντες οἱ βιωτικοί, καὶ κτᾶσθε βιβλία φάρμακα τῆς ψυχῆς. Chrysostom uses without distinction sing. or plur., with or without article. (1) sing. e.g. εὐθέως οἴκαδε ἐλθόντας τὸ βιβλίον μεταχειρίζεσθαι, vii. 72. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑμῶν βιβλίον ἔχει μετὰ χεῖρας ἀλλὰ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ βιβλίον, ix. 158. (2) plur. ἕκαστος οἴκαδε ἀναχωρήσας τὰ βιβλία μετὰ χεῖρας λαμβανέτω, iii. 73. οὕτω προσέκειτο βιβλίοις, ὡς μηδὲ κ.τ.λ. iii. 173.

² Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 31, mentions that Chrysostom exhorted a certain bishop to "expel this plague." Cf. a Marcionite inscription found in a Syrian village with a date on it equivalent to 318 A.D., quoted in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iii. p. 819.

reproduced the error of the eldest. The *ἀντιθέσεις* of Marcion finds its counterpart in a work of Adimantus, to which Augustine wrote an answer¹. This treatise indeed was probably in Latin and was circulated chiefly in North Africa. But its thesis was the doctrine of the whole sect and attracted Chrysostom's notice (e.g. i. 542, ix. 548). The question then as to the relation of the Old Testament to the New was not one of merely speculative interest.

The Old Testament is the revelation of God. God speaks, the Holy Spirit² speaks, through the tongue of the prophet. "The Old Covenant belongs not to the Father alone but also to the Son" (x. 666). Christianity is no late development, no afterthought, no correction of an earlier mistake³. The writers of the Old Covenant therefore are kith and kin with the writers of the New. "There is one body, even the faithful, wheresoever in the world they may be, the faithful who are, the faithful who were, the faithful who shall be. The bond is the knowledge of Christ: for the prophets also knew Him. Had they not known Him, they would not have written of Him. They knew Him and worshipped Him withal (cf. John v. 46, viii. 56)" (xi. 75).

As between the writers, so also between their writings there is a kinship, and St Paul can use words of Isaiah, their meaning deepened and enlarged (vi. 8, viii. 197). For there is a oneness of purpose which binds together both covenants, and all parts of both. "The aim of both is the same, even the reformation of mankind"⁴.

But this Unity is no Uniformity. One Covenant differs from the other Covenant in glory. The difference, Chrysostom observes, is clearly brought out in the teaching of St Paul. "In his wish to shew the distinction between the Old and

¹ Migne P. L. 42.

² iv. 9, 117; cf. iii. 270, v. 310 (the argument is based on 2 Cor. iv. 13, τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα).

³ xi. 4, 10. Cf. the curious distortion of St Paul's argument in ii. 324.

⁴ vi. 314. So Chrysostom will allow no contradiction between the narrative of Genesis and St Stephen's speech (iv. 308). Cf. Frag. of Diodore on Gen. xi. 32.

the New, he ever and again makes mention of it and dins it into his people's ears"¹.

Two great Pauline metaphors are often in Chrysostom's mind in this connexion. The first brings out the greater glory of the New Covenant: the second lays stress on the unity between the two. The first is the parallel which St Paul draws between the Old Covenant on the one hand and on the other the tables of stone and the veiled face of the Lawgiver. But while Chrysostom traces how step by step the superiority of the New Covenant is brought out, he is careful to notice that the veil is not on the words of the law, but 'on the reading,' 'on the heart,' just as the veil was not on Moses' face for his own sake, but "because of the dulness of the Israelites and their fleshly mind." Had the Law been hostile to Christ, St Paul would have had no right to speak of a glory of the Law; had the Law in itself been bad, it would have continued still shrouded in darkness. The second ruling idea is the Pauline conception of the Law as a tutor. Chrysostom appears to picture Christ as the Master. "The tutor is not opposed to the master but works with him: for the tutor, delivering the child from every vice, prepares him to receive his instruction from the master."²

Starting from this fundamental conception, we pass on to notice two complementary principles, true of both Covenants, but especially of the Old. The Bible owes its very existence to the condescension of God (*συγκατάβασις*). The Bible is profitable to men because one of its essential characteristics is its minuteness, its detailed significance (*ἀκρίβεια*). God speaks to man in man's words. But in that adaptation their tone is not blunted; the articulation is clear.

¹ xii. 120. Comp. the numerous references collected by Kihn *Die Bedeutung* p. 109—110, Foerster, p. 33—35. For Theodore's views see Kihn *Theodor* p. 93.

² See Chrysostom's comments on 2 Cor. iii. 6 sq. and on Gal. iii. 24. Comp. e.g. vi. 179, 317, xi. 354. To the two metaphors mentioned above a third should be added. The Law has a shadow, a *σκιά*, which Chrysostom explains to mean a rough sketch (*τὰ χαράγματα* completed by the addition of *τὸ ἄνθος, τὰ χρώματα*), Hebr. x. 1 (xii. 167, comp. especially iii. 234, viii. 79, xi. 276).

The great principle expressed by the word *συγκατάβασις* is of deep and wide application. As in the historical Incarnation the Eternal Word became flesh, so in the Bible the glory of God veils itself in the fleshly garment of human thought and human language. We put this truth in a different form when we say that the Bible is at once the record and the substance of an historical Revelation. If we seek an illustration, it will be the father teaching the son in childhood, in boyhood, in youth, the lessons he needs to learn at the several crises of his life, in those ways which best answer to his growing powers.

There is therefore progress in Revelation. Revelation was *conditioned by the instruments through which it came*. Being what they were, the products of the past, they could not, unless the human vessels were shattered, give expression to more than a certain range of truth. "Knowledge grows from more to more," even with those through whom God speaks. The thought is of vast importance, but I do not remember that it receives from Chrysostom illustration or recognition.

But Revelation was also *conditioned by the powers of those to whom it was given*. If God speaks at a particular period of the world's history, He speaks so that the men of that generation can apprehend His meaning, if they will. To some extent we have anticipated Chrysostom's teaching on this point. But more careful study shews an important subdivision. He recognises the principle of progress in Revelation as affecting (1) the form, and (2) the substance, of the Old Testament.

The recognition of the truth that the manner of Revelation is dependent on the character of those to whom it comes¹, is exemplified in Chrysostom's treatment of the anthropomorphic expressions of the Old Testament. The Origenistic disputes, which in Chrysostom's later days drew him into their dangerous eddies, partly at least turned on this question. With a fanatical hatred of Origen's more spiritual teaching, the wild, untaught monks of Egypt held

¹ πνεύματι φθεγγόμενος καταλλήλως τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἅπαντα ἐξετίθετο (iv. 11).

that God is of bodily shape¹. But as a teacher at Antioch Chrysostom found the danger at his doors. In the fourth century one Audaeus of Syria founded an ascetic sect whose distinctive doctrine rested on a grossly literal interpretation of Genesis i. 26². It is indeed in dealing with the earlier chapters of Genesis that Chrysostom insists with the most earnest and constant reiteration that Scriptural language on the nature of God is relative and not absolute. In commenting on the words, 'Let us make man in our image,' the preacher alludes to the sect referred to above³. "From these words," he says, "some will have it that the Deity wears the form of man (*βούλονται ἀνθρωπόμορφον λέγειν τὸ θεῖον*)... Can the like of this madness be found?" Without drawing any distinction between the words *κατ' εἰκόνα* and *καθ' ὁμείωσιν*, he finds the true explanation defined by the clause which follows:—Man's likeness to God consists in his sovereignty over created things⁴.

Again, Chrysostom in dealing with the words, 'and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life,' denounces certain who "moved by their own imaginings and destitute

¹ Socr. *H. E.* vi. 7.

² Epiphanius (*Haer.* 70) makes him contemporary with the council of Nicaea. Theodoret (iv. 9) however places the rise of Audaeus as an heresiarch (*πάλαι μὲν τῶν ποτηρῶν ὠδίνειν ἀρχάμενος, τότε δὲ δῆλος γενόμενος*) in close juxtaposition to the Illyrian Synod in 375. See Neander *Ch. Hist.* iv. p. 484 (*Bohn's Ed.*).

³ That Chrysostom is referring to men of his own time and country is plain from his words, "Let us fulfil our part and stretch out a hand to them, reasoning with them with all gentleness" (iv. 60).

⁴ It is interesting to compare the teaching of the Antiochenes on this point. (1) Diodore takes the same view as Chrysostom: *ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυν, οὕτω καὶ ἄνθρωπος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βασιλεύει*. (2) Theodore ridiculing this view as well as any reference to the spiritual or rational parts of man finds an explanation in his favourite conception of man as the bond of union in the universe (comp. Swete i. p. lxxx). Theodoret records the opinion of Diodore and Theodore. (3) Severian explains the likeness to consist partly in moral characteristics (*ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἐπιγράφεται τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα*); partly in man's sovereignty, like Chrysostom (*Chrysostom Op.* vi. 484). (4) Theodoret mentions four opinions:—(a) that the words apply to the soul; this he rejects on the ground that it does not distinguish men from angels; (b) that they refer to the body; (c) Theodore's view; (d) Chrysostom's opinion. For other opinions see Hagenbach *Hist. of Doctrines* i. 409 (E. T.).



of any worthy thoughts of God, not marking the condescension of the words, venture to assert that the soul is of the essence of God¹. The reason of the grossness of the expression is simply our weakness." The true meaning he explains thus: "*It pleased God* that this body formed of the dust should have within it a soul able to use the members of the body." So again the days of Creation are to be understood. The form of the record is due "to the condescension of the loving God....For His Almighty hand and boundless wisdom could have brought forth all things in a single day, yea even in a single moment. But forasmuch as He fashioned all things through love to man, He created the world in successive parts (*κατὰ μέρος*)"².

To take one more example, Chrysostom repeats the warning when he comes to the words, 'He took one of his ribs.' "Mark," he says, "the condescension of Holy Scripture, what expressions it uses because of our weakness. Do not interpret the expression in a merely human sense, but account the grossness of the phrase as due to human weakness. For had not Scripture used these words, how could we have known these ineffable mysteries? Let us not therefore abide in the bare words, but understand them all in a fashion worthy of God, forasmuch as they are applied to God. For the expression, 'He took' and the like are used because of our weakness"³.

¹ Chrysostom has in view Manichaean errors: this is clearer in ix. 20 sq. So Diodore, *ἐμφύσημα θεῖον δημιουργικὸν αὐτῆς εἶναι φησι, ὥς πον καὶ τῶν ὁρατῶν χεῖρα θεοῦ*. Theodore however, *τῷ δὲ (ἀνθρώπῳ) ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ διαφερούσης οὐσίας (ἐδόθη τὸ ζῆν)*. (This last fragment is also probably wrongly assigned to Diodore.) I have not noticed any passage in Chrysostom directly asserting Creationism or Traducianism. Theodoret plainly takes the former view, *de Materia et Mundo* (Migne 83, 921 c, 941 c).

² Comp. the well-known lines in Tennyson's *Princess*:

"For was, and is, and will be, are but is;
And all creation is one act at once,
The birth of light; but we that are not all,
As parts can see but parts, now this, now that,
And live perforce from thought to thought, and make
One act a phantom of succession."

³ Other references, a few out of many, are: (1) on the Psalms, v. 39, 67, 68, 168, 201, 230, 342, 377. (2) On Daniel, vi. 239, 251. Chrysostom has

The clear apprehension of this characteristic of the Bible had a fundamental bearing upon Chrysostom's principles of interpretation. This method of Revelation on God's part lays a corresponding duty on man. He must never be so rashly presumptuous as to forget that the words of Scripture do not present matters as they are in themselves, but in strict and constant relation to man's power of apprehension. Thus when Chrysostom is occupied with the opening words of the Bible, he lays down the rule that "we must accept them with all humble gratitude, not passing beyond our proper measure, nor busying ourselves with things too high for us."

In Isaiah's parable of the Vineyard God is represented as saying, 'I planted it with the choicest vine.' "God still continues the metaphor," Chrysostom observes, "and we must not interpret it word for word, but must be content with knowing its drift. Thus some take the tower to mean the sanctuary, the winepress the altar, for all the fruits of each man's virtue, the offerings and sacrifices, are brought there. But I," he continues, "repeat what I have already said, that the drift of the metaphor is the one thing to mark."

But it is even more important to notice that the *substance of Revelation* is affected by the principle of Divine condescension. And here we are brought face to face with problems which are specially offered to our own times for earnest and reverent investigation. The key to the whole position may perhaps be said to lie in two propositions. (1) God educates the human race towards the great consummation—'after our likeness.' But all education must be gradual: it knows nothing of sudden and isolated starts. (2) God would bring out of every state of mankind the highest acts, the highest service both to Himself and to His creatures, which the stage of education attained to by man admits. Thus the morality which is commanded by God, if tried by an absolute standard, may be defective, yet relatively it will always be perfect.

five sermons 'De Incomprehensibili Dei Natura.' Comp. the fragment of Diodore on Gen. vi. 6 where he defines God's repentance as *μετάνοιας οἰκονομίας εἰς ἕτερον τρόπον*.

We do not of course expect to find principles like these distinctly formulated or expressly applied in the works, least of all in the sermons, of a Father of the Fourth Century. Yet, if I mistake not, they are latent in Chrysostom's teaching, and are implicitly recognised.

The main thought may be briefly stated thus in Chrysostom's own words. God in Scripture "orders each detail with reference to the special crisis for man's good, thus correcting the weakness of each successive generation"¹.

Three special applications of this principle may be noticed in illustration.

(1.) In this light the system of rewards in the Old Testament must be viewed. Thus the familiar description of the blessedness of the man 'that feareth the Lord, that walketh in His ways,' suggests the comment, "Forasmuch as He was speaking with those under full age, He lures them on by sensible blessings.....But we Christians do not strip for the contest for this present world's sake, but chiefly to please God, and after that for the hopes of the future." (Comp. iii. 285, vii. 210.)

(2.) This principle is of special importance as regards the commands of God given in old time. "Some are absolute, some are relative. Among the former are the commands to know God, not to kill, and the like: among the latter, the commands to offer sacrifice, to burn incense, to keep the Sabbath. These last were included in the code not for their own sake, but in order that their observance might wean the people from the worship of demons"². In point of fact there is retrogression. Thus Chrysostom contrasts the hints of a plurality of Persons in the Godhead in the early chapters of Genesis with the uncompromising dogma of the Law. Even when the common duties of life are concerned (*ἐπὶ τῶν*

¹ v. 251. Thus Chrysostom explains the difference between the teaching of the Old and the New Testament as to the doctrine of the Trinity, v. 250, 251.

² vi. 10. So Diodore (*Frag. on Gen.* viii. 20). Comp. an important passage on the Sabbath, vii. 434, 435 (*τί τολύν σαββάτου χρεῖα τῷ διαπαντός ἐορτάζοντι, τῷ πολιτευομένῳ ἐν οὐρανῷ; ἐορτάζωμεν τολύν διηλεκῶς*; cf. the *Church Catechism*) and the references in Field's note.

πραγμάτων), he remarks how "in His condescension for our weakness God lowers His Revelation from a perfect to an inferior standard." Cases in point are the law of divorce, the distinction between meats, the choice of a special place for worship¹.

From this point of view Chrysostom deals with the question of sacrifices. 'Who hath required this at your hands to tread my courts?' So God asks through Isaiah. "Yet the whole book of Leviticus is taken up with minute legislation as to sacrifices. How then this question? To shew that God's essential purpose (*προηγούμενον θεοῦ θέλημα*) was not to legislate on such matters. Such legislation is due to our weakness. The case is parallel with that of divorce. God, desiring to uproot greater evils, permitted the less. He suffered what He did not desire that He might secure that which He did desire"².

(3.) The general principle receives a remarkable sanction from our Lord's treatment of the Law in the Sermon on the Mount. One or two points in Chrysostom's exposition are worth noting.

As he reads the Lord's words, 'It was said to them of old time,' they imply a recognition of the different stages of His people's education. "He spoke thus to shame any hearer who shrank from rising from these commands to higher things; just as a teacher might say to an idle child, Don't you see the time you have wasted in learning spelling?"

Again, our Lord recognises that the perfect will of God is not expressed in the commands of the Law. Thus His injunction about anger is not opposed to the prohibition of murder; it is rather the completion, a fuller guarantee for the observance, of the Old Law. Or to take another example,

¹ v. 250; comp. xi. 747 (on Tit. i. 15). God forbid certain meats *οὐχ ὡς ἀκάθαρτα*, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεον τῆς τρυφῆς περικόπτων. As to sacrifices, *νεκρῶν οὐχ ἤπτοντο*, καὶ νεκρῷ καθηγνίζοντο· τὸ γὰρ σφαζόμενον νεκρόν.

² vi. 9; cf. v. 230, vii. 90, xii. 174. Yet Chrysostom does not seem to recognise progress as to the Revelation of the state after death. Thus he explains Ps. cxv. 17 as referring either to (1) those who died in ungodliness, or (2) to those who had become corrupt in sin.

'an eye for an eye' seems a harsh enactment. Take into consideration the times and the character of the people, and it assumes a different appearance. First, the safety of society demanded some regulation of wide and easy application. "The lawgiver who lays down no law of vengeance against evil-doers simply equips them with the armour of impunity, and is as one who puts swords into their hands." Secondly, the rule itself reached the highest stage of philanthropy then attainable. "Inasmuch as the lawgiver would temper justice with mercy, he condemns the author of a great wrong to a punishment less than his deserts, thus educating men, even when they are injured, to display clemency in large measure." In other words, vengeance in an early stage of society is a necessity. The lawgiver, by enjoining it *and* controlling it, prevents it from becoming indiscriminate, and so unprincipled¹.

Connected with the principle just examined there is the other scarcely less important. God condescends to speak to men through men. But human language, raised to so high a use, does not thereby lose its essential characteristics. It is not clouded or obscured. In the Bible definite words have definite meanings. The phraseology of Scripture is capable of analysis. Properly understood, Chrysostom would admit the often quoted maxim of Irenaeus, "Nihil vacuum, nihil sine signo apud Deum." Mark the exactness of Scripture, and, mark the condescension of Scripture, are appeals which seem to lie parallel. "Mark the exactness of Scripture," is part of Chrysostom's comment on Gen. ii. 21, to take but one example. "Scripture does not say as before 'He formed,' but 'He built.' Out of that which had been already formed God took this part and added thereto that which was wanting." Prophecy supplies many instances of this minuteness. Micah's prophecy as to Bethlehem "said not He shall remain in Bethlehem, but He shall come

¹ vii. 206 sq., 234 (xi. 356, vi. 180). It is impossible to examine Chrysostom's teaching on these points without calling to mind passages from some of Prof. Mozley's *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages*. The parallel is close and remarkable. See especially Lect. viii. 'The Law of Retaliation.'

forth. So this too was foretold, that He should only be born there.”¹

The recognition of this characteristic forbids addition to, as well as subtraction from, the inspired Words. There was current in Chrysostom's time a popular misreading of the well-known passage of Haggai;—“The silver is mine and the gold is mine, *and to whomsoever I will I give them*” (comp. Lk. iv. 6). The passage in this shape was quoted as a divine sanction of ill-gotten wealth:

“And thus I clothe my naked villany
With old odd ends stolen out of holy writ;
And seem a saint, when most I play the devil.”

But the added clause, the preacher urges, “has currency through the ignorance of the many...The craft of the devil is so great that he introduces his deadly doctrines by adding to, or taking from, by distorting or changing, the written words” (vi. 162). The principle is capable of another application, of extreme importance in the exegesis of the Antiochene School. The proverbial estimate of the practice of human law must not be extended to the Bible. It takes account of the most trivial details. In his nervous anxiety to rescue Inspired Words from supposed degradation, a commentator must not reject their obvious meaning². Thus part of Isaiah's indictment against Jerusalem is, ‘Thy merchants mingle thy wine with water’ (LXX.). Some, Chrysostom tells us, ignorant of the unspeakable wisdom of God, interpreted the phrase figuratively. Isaiah, the high and lofty

¹ Theodore characteristically explains the prophecy of Zerubbabel: ἀλλὰ τό γε ἀληθές τῶν εἰρημένων πέρας τὴν ἑκβασιν ἐληφεν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπότης χριστοῦ. Comp. for Chrysostom e.g. 1. 573, vi. 23, 57.

² St Paul (1 Cor. ix. 9, 10) seems at first sight to favour the method of mystical interpretation. But these points may be noted. (1) The reference is incidental. The Apostle is not a systematic commentator. (2) The form of his comment may be compared with the familiar idiom in e.g. *ἄνεος θέλω καὶ ὡ θυσίαν*. (3) He goes back to great principles of humanity and justice, the highest exemplification of which is only reached when man is concerned. Chrysostom's comment is worth noting: his idea seems to be that the command in its literal sense had an educational value. By a lesson of kindness to animals the people were taught a lesson of kindness to their teachers.

prophet, did not speak of the trickery of money-changers and the corruption of merchants. By silver, they urged, is meant the oracles of God, by wine doctrine. "For my own part," Chrysostom adds, "while I do not treat this interpretation with scorn, I hold the other to be the truer...For the only Begotten of the Father has Himself spoken many things about measures and salutations and highest places."

Thus a recognition of God's plan of gradual education for the human race, as well as a reverent sense of the detailed significance of Scripture, lay at the root of the position of the Antiochene School, and led these great teachers to a temperate rejection of the methods of mystical interpretation whenever recklessly applied.

In reviewing more in detail Chrysostom's methods of interpretation, it will be convenient to divide the Books of the Old Testament, as he does himself, into the Historical, the Hortatory, and the Prophetic Books (vi. 316).

"The aim of all Scripture is the reformation of mankind" (vi. 314). The importance of this definition is greatest in the case of those Books which have most in common with purely human literature. It is thus that the historical part of the Bible is parted off from all other history. With secular authors the narrative is an end in itself. "They record public events: they bring before the eyes of men wars and battles: they reap a harvest of glory from their writings" (vi. 314). With the Sacred Books it is not so. Here the ruling aim is not literary or artistic, but moral and spiritual. Thus two principles are involved. In the Bible we have real history. Again, there is that in it which makes it yield to the touch of the seeker after spiritual wisdom¹. But here we reach a principle of interpretation which became the distinguishing mark of the School of Antioch. If the histories of the Bible are not fictions or fairy tales, their genuine historical character must be honestly recognised, or their spiritual significance will surely be missed or marred. The superstructure of doctrine must be built on the rock of

¹ Comp. e.g. i. 185 sq., ii. 303, iv. 759.

historical interpretation; otherwise the floods of heresy and the shifting winds of theological fashion will overwhelm it. And because it will drag down with it, to be buried at least for a time, some of the true and solid treasures of Christianity, its fall will be great.

Chrysostom was not proof against a tendency at times to allegorise, and find meanings from which a more systematic exegesis would shrink. But at least he never revelled in 'the effeminacies of mystical interpretation.' A few examples will make his position plain.

(a) We take the history of the formation of Eve from Adam. At least here we might have expected a commentator to dwell largely on a spiritual meaning which St Paul found in the mysterious narrative (Eph. v. 29—32). Elsewhere Chrysostom recognised it¹. But in the homily on the passage there is, I think, no reference to this view of the passage, but two thoughts seem present to the preacher's mind. Here he finds the true account of the relation of woman to man. Here too he sees a crowning instance of God's kindness to man, and on this he founds the moral application with which the sermon ends.

(b) The wonderful meaning which Barnabas discovers in the 318 servants of Abraham is well known². They signify to him the mysteries of redemption. Chrysostom also asks the question, why the patriarch chose just so many home-born slaves. His answer is singularly plain and

¹ xi. 147. Elsewhere (xi. 363) the history is taken as a type of the 'painless childbirth' of the Virgin. The title of No. 89 of the 'Tracts for the Times' is *On the Mysticism attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church*. I learn from Keble's life (i. p. 244, ed. 1869) that he was the author. It is full of learning, not unworthy of its conspicuous position beside its more historical successor. There is much which is valuable in Trench *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount* (Ch. iv. Augustine's allegorical Interpretation of Scripture). Bp Wordsworth's *Commentary on the Old Testament* gives abundant references to mystical interpretations, as do Neale and Littledale on the Psalms. There is an Article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April, 1886, on *The Mystical Interpretation of Holy Scripture*. Abbé Léonard's *Traité du sens littéral et du sens mystique des saintes écritures* (Paris 1727) I know only from a reference in Kihn *Theodor* p. 141.

² Barn. Ep. ix.

homely. The number is recorded to shew us, "that he did not take all, but those who had been brought up with Lot, in order that they might be the willing ministers of vengeance, seeing that they were fighting for their own master."

(c) Why was the eighth day chosen for circumcision? The fathers had a ready answer. It was the day of the Resurrection. Such is Justin Martyr's explanation. It is repeated in an official letter of an African Council under Cyprian¹. Again Chrysostom is severely sensible. Two reasons may be given, he thinks, why the eighth day was specially appointed 'by the merciful God.' When the child was so young, the pain inflicted would be less. Again the Jews had thus a clear proof that the rite did not benefit the soul, but was simply a sign.

(d) The marriage of Jacob with his two wives was a commonplace of mystical interpretation. In this case also Justin Martyr led the way. But in the homily of Chrysostom which deals with the subject, we find an earnest appeal to his hearers to imitate a simpler and purer age as to marriage festivities: we find a brief discussion as to the polygamy of the patriarchs. But of a precarious allegorical interpretation there is not a word².

(e) One more instance will shew how Chrysostom could find a spiritual meaning upon a history which he had discussed as such. "Why," he asks, "did the Israelites eat the Passover with loins girded? Shall I give you the figurative or the historical explanation? It is the better plan that you should hear the history first."—So after a description of the historical type, he proceeds;—"We too eat a Passover, even the Christ. We too should eat it with shoes on our feet and loins girded, that we too may be ready for our Exodus, our departure hence. Let none of those who eat this Passover look to Egypt, but to Heaven, to the Jerusalem which is above. For this cause thou so eatest it, to teach thee, that when thou dost but begin to eat the

¹ Justin *Dial. c. Tryph.* 260 C; Routh *Rel. Sacr.* iii. p. 100.

² Elsewhere Chrysostom allows the allegorical interpretation (below p. 56). Comp. Justin *Dial. c. Tryph.* 364 B; Iren. iv. xxxv. 3.

Passover, thou oughtest to be departing and to be on thy way" (xi. 176).

(f) In one class of Biblical histories the temptation to adopt a mystical interpretation was specially great. It wore the garb of excessive reverence. "What good do we gain," asks Origen, "when we read that Abraham, the great patriarch, not only deceived Abimelech, but also betrayed the chastity of his wife?...Let the Jews hold this view and all who in their company are the champions of the letter and not of the spirit." And again, "I have often said that in these cases there is no narrative of facts but an introduction of mysteries."¹ Pressed by the insinuation of Celsus that the defenders of the Bible found a refuge from their difficulties in allegories, he pleads the example of the Stoic philosophers, and urges that the practice of the Sacred Writers themselves is proof sufficient that a figurative interpretation is in accordance with the primary intention of some passages².

Chrysostom is far from being consistent in dealing with the moral difficulties of the Old Testament. Ecclesiastical tradition favoured a dangerous tenderness in treating the lives of the patriarchs³. Still it is only at rare intervals that Chrysostom sinks into an allegorist. He points out that "Scripture has recorded not only the good deeds but also the sins of the Saints" (iv. 279; comp. vi. 314).

In the history of Noah's drunkenness, which he introduces with the remark just quoted, he finds a warning to those who are "sunk beneath the flood of other terrible sins," while at the same time he discovers a palliation suggested by the words of Scripture: 'Noah *began* to be a husband-man.' He was ignorant of the properties of wine⁴.

¹ See the references in Huet *Origeniana* ii. xiii. ii (vol. ii. p. 171).

² *Adv. Cels.* iv. 48 sq.

³ *Iren.* iv. xlii. 2. Quemadmodum audiui a quodam presbytero, qui audierat ab his qui Apostolos viderant, et ab his qui didicerant: sufficere veteribus de his quae sine consilio Spiritus egerunt, eam quae ex Scripturis esset correptionem.

⁴ Chrysostom got this suggestion from Origen.

But further, Chrysostom ventures to defend Abraham's cowardice at the courts of Pharaoh and Abimelech by interpreting it as a jealous care for God's promise. He justifies the conduct of Lot's two daughters on the ground that they thought that the whole race of man was destroyed. Nor can we wonder that the author of some chapters of the *De Sacerdotio* finds no fault with Jacob's deception of his father. Assuming that Rebecca acted not of her own mind, but in obedience to a heavenly command, Chrysostom is able to see in the details of the story simply the outcome of a divine dispensation¹. In his treatment of the history of Judah and Tamar he goes to still greater lengths. After an allegorical interpretation of the birth of the children, he insists on the duty of marking the aim and the reason of all Scripture histories. "If we get a clear conception of these, we shall acquit the actors in them of guilt, and shall ourselves gain much instruction from them." Quite different is Chrysostom's view of David's sins. "I do not shrink," he says, "from saying plainly that David committed adultery and murder. For if the Holy Spirit thought it no shame to set forth all this history, much less should we veil it."²

Many solutions have been hazarded of the problem which the Imprecatory Psalms present. Chrysostom's treatment of one such Psalm is worth remark. He is dwelling on the lamentation of the captives:—'Happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us.' "Though these words," he says, "are pregnant with rage and vengeance, yet they are the expression of the fury of the captives. Since the prophets often do not speak of their own mind,

¹ Comp. Theod. (Frag. on Gen. xxvii. 1) *καὶ τοῦτο τῆς θεῆς χάριτος ἔργον κ.τ.λ.*

² vii. 322. Perhaps the extreme limit of mystical interpretation is reached by Ambrose in his *Apologia Prophetæ David*, ch. iii. § 14 (ut significaretur congregatio nationum quæ non erat Christo legitimo fidei copulata connubio &c. &c.). "One is tempted to remark," we read in Tract 89 (p. 101), "how much we may lose by the cold and dry way in which we are apt to read the sacred history as mere matter of criticism, historical or moral, contrasted with the *high and thrilling views* wherewith the ecclesiastical rules of interpretation reward those who fairly adopt them."

but represent the passions of others. For if you ask the prophet's own sentiment, you will hear it when he says, 'If I have rewarded evil unto him that was at peace with me.' But with other men he depicts their rage and anguish. Such however is not the teaching of the New Covenant. Rather we are bidden there to feed our enemies and give them drink."¹ If this explanation does not go far enough, at least it is faithful in preserving the literal sense of the passage.

The typical character of the histories of the Old Testament was very distinctly recognised by the greatest teachers of the School of Antioch². Their belief on this point was a leading characteristic of their exegesis, and removed them at once from a servile worship of the letter and from the strange vagaries of the allegorists.

There are three different classes of passages or phrases, Chrysostom remarks in one place, which require as many different kinds of interpretation: (1) "Some passages must be interpreted literally. (2) Some must be interpreted in a different sense to that which lies on the surface, as with the words, 'The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb'. (3) Yet again others must be taken in a two-fold sense. We must apprehend that which is actual and historical: we must interpret the spiritual meaning (*τά τε αἰσθητὰ νοοῦντες καὶ τὰ νοητὰ ἐκδεχόμενοι*), as in the case of the figurative history of Isaac. We know the fact that Abraham's son was offered up, but there is something distinct from this, latent in the conception, which we gather from the words *his son*, and this is the Cross" (v. 188 C). As to the second of these groups

¹ Origen interprets the malediction as a strict prophecy: *τοὺς αὐτοῖς τιμωρῶν ὁ προφήτης προεῖρηκε' μακαρίζεται δὲ ὁ Κύριος ὁ κακῶν κολάσας καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθερώσας*. Chrysostom evades the difficulty in Psalm v. 11;—*οὐκ εἶπε κολάσον ἀλλὰ κρῖνον καὶ παῦσον τῆς πονηρίας*. On Psalm cix. see p. 72.

² Kihn *Die Bedeutung* p. 113—115 (Diese ganze für die exegetische Bedeutung unserer Schule höchst wichtige, die allegorische Erklärung auf das rechte Mass beschränkende Theorie von den Typen). Foerster p. 20—23; Hergenröther p. 34. Typology was of especial importance in Th.'s system. See his view of Jonah, Migne 66. 320 B; Kihn *Theodor* p. 128 sq.; Diestel, p. 131. Comp. below p. 71.

Chrysostom elsewhere points out that in such cases Scripture is wont to interpret itself (v. 169, vi. 91). The third group is the most important, and includes the types of the Old Testament. As to these Chrysostom lays down the rule, "that, while the type must not be wholly different from the reality, else it would cease to be a type, neither must it be on a level with the reality, else it would become the reality" (iii. 235).

Of these 'prophecies in action' (vi. 317) the following are some of the most striking which Chrysostom admits. Noah is a type of Christ. The ark is the Church; the dove the Holy Spirit; the olive-leaf the kindness of God. Leah and Rachel are figures respectively of the Jewish synagogue and of the Church of Christ. Of Joseph it is noted that his brethren did not kill but sold him. The bush burning but not consumed pointed onward to the Human Body of the Lord. That body died, but it was not holden by death for ever. Rahab the harlot and Ruth the Moabitess raised from low estate are types of the Church exalted by the love of Christ. The image of Bel bursting asunder when fed by Daniel was a figure of Hades being cleft in twain when the Lord arose. The Temple was a parable of the whole universe, part of which is material, part spiritual; the visible Heavens, like the veil before the Sanctuary, divide the two worlds¹.

Even in the cases already mentioned few will, I think, deny that Chrysostom is sometimes building a superstructure of fancy. In other instances he is more clearly convicted.

Thus he is commenting on the name Seth. The LXX. uses the word *ἐξανέστησε*. "For God," said Eve, "raised me up another seed instead of Abel." "Mark the exactness of the word," says the commentator, "she does not say *gave*, but *raised up*. See how the first hint of the Resurrection is hereby dimly suggested."

The history of Melchizedec is a favourite one with

¹ i. 783, vi. 322, iv. 586, x. 354, vii. 38, ii. 359; comp. viii. 82, 192.

Chrysostom, and he had good authority for a typical interpretation of the little which is told us of the priestly king. It is however instructive to compare his treatment of the history with that of the writer to the Hebrews.

The latter, as Chrysostom rightly points out, arguing from the record itself and giving a meaning to its silence, speaks of Melchizedec as a priest, (1) independent of descent, (2) of whose abdication by death or otherwise nothing is known. He stands by himself wholly apart from any priestly line. But Chrysostom loses sight of the analogy between type and antitype when he presses the thought that Christ is "without father, as man; without mother, as God; without genealogy in either nature." The special bearing of the description of Melchizedec on an Extra-Levitical Priesthood is thus quite overlooked¹.

Again, it is remarkable that in the Epistle to the Hebrews nothing is said as to a symbolical aspect of the bread and the wine. Chrysostom, following the common exegesis, saw in these a reference to the Holy Mysteries of the Eucharist, and found here a striking instance of the foresight of Holy Scripture.

But it is seldom that Chrysostom gives freer rein to a tendency towards mystical interpretation than in his comments on the birth of Phares and Zara. He notes that in our Lord's genealogy St Matthew mentions the name of Zara besides that of Phares. There must be some reason for this; nor can we suppose, he says, deserting his general principles, that the words of the midwife were recorded for their own sake. Here we have mystic riddles. The partial advance of the Church in Abel, Enoch, &c., the breaking in of the Law, at last the advent of the Church in Christ,—all this is pre-figured in the history. "Such is the opinion," adds Chrysostom, "of those who have accurately examined these things."²

¹ iv. 356, v. 262, vi. 170, 266 sq. (a separate homily on the history), xii. 122. Th. and Thdt. (on Hebr. vii.) are in full agreement with Chrysostom.

² iv. 593, vi. 324, vii. 36. Irenaeus (iv. xxxix.) gives substantially this interpretation, with one detail added: "signum coccinum, quod est passio

Such are examples of Chrysostom's own practice in dealing with the histories of the Old Testament. It may be well however to recall two passages in St Paul's Epistles, where he enforces his argument and gives point to his warnings by a figurative interpretation of the old histories, and to enquire how Chrysostom deals with them.

St Paul uses the history of the Exodus to bring home to the Corinthians the responsibilities of their own position. Only one point in Chrysostom's exposition need be noticed, viz. his anxiety to preserve the true historical character of the type. "The people, when they saw Moses the first to cross the sea, in their turn braved the waters. But inasmuch as the Apostle wishes to bring the type very close to the reality, he applies the same phrase to the one and to the other:—'They were baptized.' It was not the natural rock which sent forth the water, else it had gushed out long before; but another, a spiritual, rock wrought all, even Christ who was with them everywhere." Chrysostom's treatment of the other passage brings out this point with greater clearness. St Paul is speaking of the history of the two wives and the two sons of Abraham (Gal. iv. 24), and he adds, *ἀτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα*. The words serve Chrysostom's friend Theodore as a text for a fierce onslaught against the school of allegorists¹. Our author's comment is self-restrained but decisive: "The Apostle by a conventional use of words (*καταχρηστικῶς*) calls a type an allegory. His meaning is this:—Such is the history; it does not only tell us what lies on the surface, but announces to us certain other things, so it is called an allegory."

Two passages from Chrysostom's commentaries will best gather up his views and bring the discussion to a close. The one contains a protest, the other lays down a principle.

Justi." Contrast Diodore's frag. on Gen. xxxviii. 27. Chrysostom held that there was an ordered sequence in the types of the Old Testament. Signs are themselves signs of other signs (xi. 363).

¹ *Apostolus enim non interimit historiam, neque evolvit res dudum factas; sed sic posuit illa ut tunc fuerant facta, et historiam illorum quae fuerunt facta ad suum usus est intellectum.* See Dr Swete's note.

"It is for this reason that Moses records the name of the place (i.e. Paradise), that it might not be possible for the lovers of idle trifling to deceive simple folk, telling them that Paradise was not on earth but in heaven, and to conjure up such-like fairy tales. For, though Scripture speaks thus exactly, certain of those who plume themselves upon their eloquence and secular wisdom (*τῇ σοφίᾳ τῇ ἔξωθεν*) have not shrunk from uttering what is clean opposed to that which is written, and from saying that Paradise was not on earth...Most people listen not that they may receive profit from Holy Scripture, but for pleasure's sake. Wherefore, I pray you, closing your ears to all such men, let us closely follow the rule of Holy Scripture."¹ The plural throughout points to a school rather than to any single individual as the object of this vigorous philippic, a school which was still flourishing and attractive. But it scarcely admits of doubt that, if his followers share in this censure, Origen himself, as the typical allegorist, is prominently before Chrysostom's mind and indeed suggests some of the counts of the indictment².

¹ *τῷ κανόνι τῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς κατακολουθήσωμεν* (iv. 103). (1) The words probably refer to some words Chrysostom had just used: *τῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς, ἐπειδὴν βούληται τι τοιοῦτον ἡμᾶς διδάσκειν, ἐαυτὴν ἐρμηνεύουσας, καὶ οὐκ ἀφίσεως πλανᾶσθαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν*. (2) But it seems possible that the reference is to the Canon of Scripture, the properly defined collection of Books, the plain text, as distinguished from airy fancies.

² Comp. iv. 195 (on Gen. vi. 1). Origen had said: *ὅταν ἀναγινώσκοντες ἀναβαίνωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν μύθων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ἐκδοχῆς, ζητῶμεν τίνα τὰ ξύλα ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνα, ἃ ὁ θεὸς γεωργεῖ, λέγομεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν αἰσθητὰ ξύλα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ* (in Gen. ii. 15; comp. *de Princ.* iv. 16). Of such allegorical treatment there is a hint in *Ecclus.* xxiv. 25. It is adopted by Philo (i. p. 52, *ed. Mangey*) τὴν ἐπίγειον σοφίαν νυνὶ παρίστησι διὰ τῆς τοῦ παραδείσου φουτουρίας· παράδεισος μὲν δὴ τροπικῶς εἰρηται ἢ ἀρετή. Irenaeus records a similar idea of the Ophites (i. xxviii. 4), and a notion which *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, τῶν ἀποστόλων μαθηταί*, taught (v. v. 1). See also Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. ch. xi., Ambr. *de Parad.* i. 1. The attacks on this teaching were numerous: Eustathius *de Engastrimutho* ch. xxi; Basil *In Hexaem.* 36 b, 40 b, 73 c, 188 b (Ed. Migne); Epiphanius *Ancor.* ch. 54. Comp. Augustine *de Civ. Dei* xiii. 21; *De Gen. ad. Lit.* viii. 1. (These last references are given in Huet *Origen.* ii. ii Qu. xii. vii. and Benedictine preface reprinted in Migne 12 p. 39—42). To these the following references as to the Antiochenes must be added:—Theodore on Gal. iv. 24 (*ed. Swete* i. 73 sq.); Severian *de Mund. Creatione* (ap. Chrys. op. vi. 503) *ἀσχυρέσθωσαν οἱ ἀλληγοροῦντες, ὅτι ὁ παρά-*

In the other passage Chrysostom lays down a principle :—
 “Here,” he says in his comments on the parable of the vine-

δεῖσος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστίν, καὶ πνευματικὸς ἐστίν. ἐν οὐρανῷ συκὴ τί ποιεῖ; Poly-
 chronius on Ezek. xxviii. 2 (Mai Patr. Nova Bibliotheca vii. Pt. ii. p. 111) φιλο-
 τιμούμενοι μὴ αὐτοὶ τῇ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀκολουθήσαι ἐννοεῖ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν
 φαντασίαν ἐκβιβάζεσθαι τὰ ῥητὰ....ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀλληγορίας ἡγεμῶν γέγονεν
 Ὁριγένης· ἠκολούθησαν δὲ καὶ ἕτεροί τινες. Perhaps Diodore's Frag. on Gen. i. 2
 should be added: καὶ μάτην οἱ αἰρετικοὶ νοητὸν σκότος ἐντεῦθεν ἐκλαμβάνουσιν.
 (But comp. Basil In Hex. 36 B, τὸ γὰρ σκότος οὐχ ὡς πέφυκεν ἐξηγουται....ἀλλὰ
 δύναμιν κακὴν κ.τ.λ.). Diodore wrote τίς διαφορά θεωρίας καὶ ἀλληγορίας (see
 Kihn *Die Bedeutung* p. 129), Theodore, *Quinque tom̃ adversus Allegoricos*
 (Fritzsche ap. Migne 66 p. 26). The Antiochenes were thus united in their
 protest.

It is of interest to note the opinion on this subject of three typical English
 theologians. Hooker (*Eccles. Polity* v. lix. 2) lays down the grand principle,
 though his application is far enough from our present subject :—“I hold it
 for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that where a
 literal construction will stand, the furthest from the letter is commonly the
 worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding
 art, which changeth the meaning of words, as alchymy doth or would do the
 substance of metals, maketh of anything what it listeth, bringing in the
 end all truth to nothing.” Fuller (*A Pisgar Sight of Palestine* Bk iii. Ch.
 ii. § vii.), in reference to the mystical interpretation of the measurements of
 the Temple, touches on the subject with his own epigrammatic irony :—“But
 is not this rather *lusus* than *illusio*, sporting with than expounding of
 Scripture?...In a word, for matters of number, fancy is never at a loss, like
 a beggar never out of his way, but hath some haunts where to repose itself.
 But such as in expounding of Scripture reap more than God did sow there,
 never eat what they reap thence, because such grainless husks, when seriously
 threshed out, vanish all into chaff.” Dr Newman, taking a very different
 view of the School of Antioch from that which I have been led to take, says
 (*Essay on Development of Christian Doctrine* p. 344), “It may be almost laid
 down as an historical fact (? axiom) that the mystical interpretation and
 orthodoxy will stand or fall together.” It might be enough to urge in reply
 that, there being no external law or standard in the matter of mystical inter-
 pretation, authority can only be allowed to it when the absolute infallibility
 of private judgment is conceded. But the appeal is to history. One typical fact
 will suffice. The Gnostics, the earliest depravers of the Christian faith, found
 their support in mystical interpretations of the Gospels :—ταῦτα δὲ φανερώς
 μὲν μὴ εἰρῆσθαι, διὰ τὸ μὴ πάντας χωρεῖν τὴν γνώσιν, μυστηριωδῶς δὲ ὑπὸ
 Σωτῆρος διὰ παραβολῶν μεμνηνῆσθαι τοῖς συνιέντι δυναμένοις οὕτως· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ
 τριάκοντα αἰῶνας μεμνηνῆσθαι διὰ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν...ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἐν φανερῷ
 φάσκουσι πεποιηκέναι τὸν Σωτῆρα, καὶ διὰ τῆς παραβολῆς τῶν ἐργατῶν τοῦ
 ἀμπελῶνος (Iren. i. i. 5). (Comp. Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv. xxx. Semper haeretici
 aut nudas et simplices voces conjecturis quo volunt rapiunt, aut rursus
 condicionales et rationales simplicitatis condicione dissolvunt). Was it

yard in Isaiah v., "we learn an important lesson when and where we may allegorise. We are not irresponsible exponents (κύριοι) of the laws on this matter, but may only apply the system of allegorical interpretation when we are following the mind of Scripture. Scripture in this present case speaks of a vineyard, a hedge. It does not leave the hearer without responsibility to attach the words to what persons or events he will, but goes on to interpret itself. 'For the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts &c.'...And this is the universal law of Scripture when it speaks in allegories, viz. to supply the interpretation of the allegory, so that the uncontrolled passion of those who are bent on allegorising may not be left free to wander and penetrate everywhere without system or principle." The analogy of Scripture is the best guide in the interpretation of Scripture. So stated the rule is good and useful.

"A traveller has observed that the great cathedral of Damascus is still standing. But the Christian Church has been turned into a mosque. Over one magnificent portal remains legibly inscribed in Greek characters the thirteenth verse of the 145th Psalm, with the addition of a single word, *ἡ βασιλεία σου, Χριστέ, βασιλεία πάντων τῶν αἰώνων*. There stands the clause, in letters unobliterated by time or hostile hands; unheeded by the haughty ignorance of the Moslem; saddening for a moment at least every Christian who can read it as he passes by, 'Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom.' This inscription at least affords evidence how those who reared the Church interpreted and applied the 145th Psalm and with it many other parts of the Psalter."¹

because Julian saw the danger of this method of interpretation that he characteristically tried to force it upon Christians through the exigences of controversy (Socr. iii. 23)? "The mystical interpretation, much as it differed from the mythical, both in the principles from which it started, and in the religious, philosophical, and doctrinal principles on which it proceeded, was calculated to produce the same results with the latter, and to run into the same mythical conclusions" (Neander *Church History* ii. p. 265, *ed. Bohn*). In the region of mystical interpretation there is no critical police: every man does what is right in his own eyes.

¹ Bp Alexander Bampton *Lectures* p. 193, where he refers to Tristram *Holy Land* p. 618.

We have here only a vivid exemplification of the exegesis of the early Church. In the Psalms and in the Prophets Christ was present, Incarnate, Suffering, Dying, Rising, Reigning. He had Himself said, 'These are they which bear witness of me.' He had Himself on the first Easter day, 'beginning from Moses and all the prophets interpreted to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself.' The instinct was a deep and true one: it was often but one side of an intense devotion. Those who hold that the ultimate solution of the deepest and most anxious of life's problems lies for us men in the facts of the Incarnation and the Resurrection will be the last to deny that 'the prophets lived a Christward life,' and that their writings are the fit expression of their life. Yet the most reverent criticism will desire to trace definite laws in the Word of God, and to interpret it according to her knowledge of these laws. It is because she honours it so highly that she cannot surrender its deepest and devoutest parts to the caprice of pious instincts. Our present enquiry then is, how far does Chrysostom, the representative of a great school, recognise definite principles in his exposition of the prophetic writings, and how far are these principles sound?

Chrysostom himself observes that "we may often hear the prophets treating of historical events" (vi. 316). If prophecy may be compared to a pure river, 'the streams whereof make glad the city of God,' yet the river bubbles up from, and flows through, the common earth of history. And Chrysostom does more than merely admit this. He welcomes history as a handmaid in the interpretation of prophecy. "It must needs be that the prophet (Isaiah) begins with a note of time, thereby sending the diligent student to the history of the past. For the prophecy becomes clearer and easier if we know in what state the world was, and what the condition of the wounds of the Jewish people, when the prophets applied their remedies" (vi. 5). A curious example will be found in Chrysostom's explanation of the special mention of 'the year when king Uzziah died' (vi. 1). He supposes that the sacrilege of the king infected the people; that

prophecy was for the time withdrawn and God's voice silent. But the measure of the king's life was the measure of the period of God's anger. When the king died, God at last opened once more the doors of prophecy (vi. 63)¹.

A further step is taken when the historical element is allowed to suggest the interpretation of that which is admitted to be predictive. The third chapter of Isaiah and the first verse of the fourth chapter give companion pictures. On the one hand there is the reckless extravagance and pride of the women of Zion; on the other the deep shame and misery which God would bring upon them. War shall make them desolate, and the men shall fall by the sword, 'and seven women shall take hold of one man in that day.' In that day of extreme visitation all natural modesty will be laid aside, and women will go in search of husbands. It has been said that "all the ancient expositors looking at the general tenour of this prophecy have recognised here an evangelical prophecy. These faithful virgin souls which clave to Christ, the one Bridegroom, with pure and holy love, are contrasted with the vain and immodest daughters of Zion."² But Chrysostom is an exception among 'all the ancient expositors.' "The prophet wishes," he says, "to set forth the failure of population arising from the war." The exposition which follows is remarkable for its severe adherence to a literal interpretation. If it is said, 'the Lord shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof,' the commentator would have us see a precise reference to the murders committed in the city, murders, as the phrase 'from the midst thereof' implies, committed with shameless publicity. But further the metaphor, *πνεύματι κρίσεως καὶ πνεύματι καύσεως*, is drawn from the working of metals. When the prophet continues according to the LXX. 'and He shall come,' Chrysostom here too steadily adheres to the line of interpretation which he has adopted. "The prophet speaks of His working as His coming."

¹ Of this theory Theodore says (on *Amos* i. 1), *σφόδρα μοι μνῆδες εἶναι φαίνεται μᾶλλον*, quoting *Hos. i. 1*, *Is. i. 1*. Jerome (Ep. xviii) takes Chrysostom's view.

² Bp Wordsworth *in loc.*

If some commentators force prophetic details that they may become accommodated to a mystical interpretation, Chrysostom can hardly escape the charge of unduly seeking historical forecasts. Thus, the last cadence of the hymn of the seraphim, 'The whole earth is full of His glory,' suggests the thought of the universal spread of Christianity. But the details of the vision are forthwith pressed into the service. The moving of the lintel prefigures the destruction of the Jewish polity; the house filled with smoke is "an image of the capture which should overtake the house of God, the conflagration kindled by barbarians."¹ Thus the accompaniments of a Theophany are made prophetic details of the work of Titus.

In turning to the Psalms we might have anticipated a different treatment. We should have expected that the claims of historical exposition would have yielded to the devotional associations of the Psalter. Chrysostom indeed is not consistent here. But in the main the historical setting of the poetry and prophecy of the Psalms is kept in view.

Thus Psalms vii., viii. are made to turn upon the history of Absalom's rebellion. David hears of the acceptance of Hushai's advice and of Ahithophel's death². In the former of these Psalms the king gives expression to his confidence in God, 'O Lord my God, in thee do I put my trust'; he closes the Psalm with a vow of thanksgiving. In the next Psalm he fulfils his vow, 'O Lord our God, how excellent is Thy name in all the earth.'

Again, Jewish tradition confirms the opinion of many modern scholars that Psalm xlv. (xlv.) should be assigned to the Maccabæan period. And here the historical instinct of Chrysostom guides him aright. If his theory of Ezra's republication of the Sacred Books precluded him from adopting the later date for the Psalm itself, an expedient remained:—"The prophet does not utter this Psalm in his own person, but in the person of the Maccabees, while he gives a

¹ Comp. Th. on *Joel* ii. 30 (p. 232 D).

² LXX. read כושי instead of כוש or misrepresented the original. So Frag. of Theodore.

prophetic narrative of the events which should happen in their days.”¹ Once more, few expressions have given rise to a larger number of theories than the inscription שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלוֹת or שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת, ὡδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν. Chrysostom mentions two interpretations. (1) There is the *historical* explanation. The subject of these Psalms is the Babylonish Captivity and the Return. (2) There is the *figurative* explanation. “For *some* interpret them thus—These Psalms lead to the path of virtue, a path which conducts the good man upwards by slow degrees, and at last places him in heaven itself.” Others again, Chrysostom tells us, found here an allusion to Jacob’s ladder. “But let us turn to the history, if it be thought well.” And it is on the historical interpretation of the inscription that he founds in the main his detailed exposition².

But there is a distinctively predictive element in the Prophets and in the Psalms. The prophet stands before us as at once the enigma and the typical character of the history of Israel. It will be best, in trying to get at Chrysostom’s view of his powers and his position, to describe him by negatives.

The *προφήτης* is not a *μάντις*³. With the latter inspiration is conceived of as an irresistible, almost a hostile, influence, which maims the intellect, darkens the reasoning powers, in a word makes the man the passive victim of its imperious working. It is not so with the prophet of God. His intellect remains sober: there is no loss of self-control. The Holy Spirit allows him to know what he utters. He is in short a conscious agent. On the other hand Chrysostom

¹ Comp. Theodore’s treatment of Pss. xxxii. liv. If the Prooemia in Psalms (v. 539) is genuine, Chrysostom held that David wrote all the Pss.

² There is an allusion to the figurative interpretation in v. 330, where ‘the first step’ is connected with the beatitude, *μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες*.

³ Balaam is a *μάντις* (vi. 334, comp. Josh. xiii. 22 LXX.):—καὶ γὰρ τὸν Βαλαὰμ ἠνάγκασέ ποτε τὰ μέλλοντα εἰπεῖν (ὁ θεός), τὴν οὐκείαν δύναμιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος (iv. 696). See v. 161, x. 259. In both places Chrysostom quotes Plato *Apol. Socr.* 22 C. He probably also has in his thoughts Plato *Timaeus* 71, 72, where *μάντις* is derived from *μανία*.

allows a certain gentle constraint. The impulse does not spring from the prophet himself. A divine afflatus moves him; a view which Chrysostom deduces from the use of the word *ἐξηρεύξατο* (Ps. xlv. 1)¹.

The *προφήτης* is no *στοχαστής*. Since the prophet has a higher guidance than mere human sagacity and foresight, he is to be distinguished from the experienced man of the world. The latter, "basing his calculations on the past and rousing his own powers to vigorous action, foresees much which is still future....The former speaks under the Divine Spirit, contributing nothing of his own. He continually meditates on what he has received from the Spirit, and so at length he tells it to his fellow-men."² The prophet is equally removed from the Pythian priestess of Greek religion and from the Themistocles of Greek politics.

Once more the *προφήτης* is no *εὐαγγελιστής*. It is true indeed, especially as the early Church read them, that the prophetic Books give no colourless pictures, no masses of awe-inspiring clouds and weird confusion. "Such is the minuteness of the prophet, that he prophesies of the Lord's journeys, aye the very intent with which He wrought His works....So many years before, the prophets speak of the Lord's trial, His condemnation, of those crucified with Him, of the parting of His garments, the casting lots for them, and other details too many to recount."³ But there is a twofold difference between the Prophet and the Historian of the Passion. The duty of the Evangelist is to give the whole history in its proper sequence. The prophet takes some portions and speaks only of them⁴.

¹ *ἐρευνόμεθα γὰρ οὐχ ὅτε βουλόμεθα* (v. 160). So of Is. vii. 14:—*τὸ μὲν γὰρ στόμα ἦν Ἡσαίου, ὃ δὲ χρησμός ἀνωθεν ἐφέρετο* (vii. 74).

² vi. 34, v. 206, comp. 1 Pet. i. 10.

³ vii. 439, 410, iv. 75, ix. 431. Comp. fragments of Diodore on Ps. lxxviii. and contrast Theodore (frag. on Ps. xvii. quoted at the 5th Council, Migne 66 p. 663): *Evangelista in Domino verba ex rebus assumens, eis usus. Quod non pertineat ad Dominum Psalmus in superioribus evidenter ostendimus. At vero beatus David supra modum ista magis ex his quae [ab] Absalom facta sunt, dixit: quoniam...omnes obtinuit res regales, non piguit autem etiam patris cubile inquinare.*

⁴ v. 165, vii. 124 (*οὐτε γὰρ πάντα προείπον οὐτε πάντα ἐσιώπησαν*).

Again, we may expect to find that what the prophet does say, he says in the form of riddles (v. 175).

But what is the positive conception of the prophet¹? He is a *man*, whose personal characteristics are not lost in his office, whose writings bear the impress of his individuality. Thus Chrysostom begins his comment on Isaiah by pointing out the distinguishing marks of the man and of the book,—frankness, independence, loftiness of thought, tenderness. But the prophet holds unique relations with God. His office may be summed up in one brief pregnant phrase. He is the Interpreter of God, *ἐρμηνευτὴς τοῦ θεοῦ*².

But if the character and the works of the prophet may be defined thus, the mode of his communications with God transcends words and thoughts alike. "The manner of the vision," Chrysostom says, "admits of no interpretation in human language. If one may dare to use a dim image, it seems to me that as pure water receiving into itself the rays of the sun is thereby illuminated, so the souls of the prophets, first purified by their own virtue, receive the gift of the Spirit, and being brought into correspondence with that brightness obtain the knowledge of the future" (vi. 4).

From the definition of the prophet himself, we turn to his message.

The prophet is first of all a preacher, a present moral power. The devices of the school of mystical interpretation tended at least to obscure this view of Hebrew prophecy. Chrysostom emphatically recognises it. Prophecy was designed by its warnings and its threats to make men wiser and better; to shew plainly that all things happened accord-

¹ In a *Frag. in Jerem.* (xiii. 740) Chrysostom defines thus: *προφητεία τὸν τὸ λέγειν ἢ καὶ τυπικῶς δεικνύναι τὰ προλαβόντα καὶ ὄντα καὶ ἐσόμενα*. He distinguishes the following kinds of prophecy: *πνευματικὴ προφητεία, διαβολικὴ, φυσικὴ ἢ τεχνικὴ, κοινὴ καὶ δημώδης*.

² x. 338. Chrysostom makes no distinction between the Old Testament and the New Testament prophets (x. 286). Comp. Chrysostom's explanation of *λῆμμα* (vi. 4):—*τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν κατοχὴν λῆμμα καλέσας. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ λαμβανόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος οὕτως ἔλεγον, τὴν ἐνεργεῖαν τῆς χάριτος οὕτως ὠνόμασε*. He is speaking of Nah. i. 1. Theodore's interpretation is the same. The idea of the Hebrew *נִבִּיָּא* is of course quite different. Comp. Prov. xxx. 1, xxxi. 1.

ing to God's decree¹. Its utterances as to the present or the immediate future had, like the miracles of the New Testament, an evidential value. They were the guarantee of its predictions as to the distant future. If a dark cloud hung over some of the prophet's words, at least "whatsoever dealt with present life and conversation" was clear².

But prophecy dealt also with the distant future. And among the events of a far-off age, there loomed now with greater, now with less distinctness, one fraught with unutterable sorrow, the rejection of the Jewish people. For Chrysostom, as for the chaplain of the Prussian king, the evidences of Christianity were summed up in a single word, 'The Jews.'³ And this element of prophecy according to Chrysostom stamped a peculiar character on the prophetic Books. Why is it that the New Testament, though speaking of higher mysteries, is nevertheless simpler than the Old? The burden of foretelling the crowning calamities of the Jewish nation was laid upon the prophets. But had the Jews understood of what disasters the prophets spoke, the history of Jeremiah is proof enough that they would have destroyed prophets and prophecies alike. Had they known that the Law was to be done away, they would have revered the Law no longer. Hence a certain obscurity was allowed to rest upon these portions of the prophecies, that they might not be understood before the time. It is this obscurity of which St Paul speaks as the veil resting on the reading of the Law⁴.

¹ vi. 78, 178, xi. 574. Comp. xiii. 740 B (δεῖ μέντοι τοὺς τόπους καὶ τοὺς τόρε χρησίμους εἶναι). The message of prophecy includes the past (iv. 9, vi. 317).

² vi. 74. Dated prophecies have the greatest evidential weight (vi. 78).

³ Comp. especially *Adversus Judaeos Orat.* v. (i. 637 sq.) and vi. 172.

⁴ vi. 177. In this obscurity there are lights and shades, vi. 23. Chrysostom applies this theory of a destruction of Books to the explanation of Matt. ii. 23 and 1 Cor. ii. 9. Comp. v. 325, vi. 20, 82. The use which Origen made of 'the veil on Moses' face' to justify allegorical interpretation is well known.

Comitolus (*Catena in Job*, Venetiis 1587, containing fragments of Chrysostom, Polychronius and other Greek Fathers done into Latin) gives (p. 37) "Obscuritatis, quae inest in sacris literis, decem causae ex iis quae in Jobum est Polychronius elucubratus." The 10th is the burning of the Books

Of the third great subject of prophecy a few words will suffice. The subject has been, and will be again, dealt with. If Chrysostom would carefully distinguish the office of the prophet from that of the Evangelist, he would not abridge the magnificence or undervalue the minuteness of the prophecies which went before¹. To reject the Messianic prophecies is to make havoc of the larger portion of the prophetic writings. If the New Testament be not received, no one can clearly point out the beauty of the Old (v. 251). The words of Chrysostom's great predecessor not inaptly express his own belief. "The Gospel hath a singular pre-eminence in the advent of the Saviour, even our Lord Jesus Christ, and His passion and resurrection. For the beloved Prophets in their preaching pointed to Him; but the Gospel is the completion of immortality."²

Four main Canons of Interpretation seem to be implied in Chrysostom's treatment of the Prophetic Books. His principles are seen with greater clearness, when compared and contrasted with those of Theodore³.

at the time of the Captivity. Other reasons enumerated are:—structura junctioque verborum; vocabula quae in res varias accomodantur; verborum Hebraeorum certa vis, quae in peregrinam linguam migrare non potest; interpungendi ratio, quam non sunt omnes eandem secuti; vocis seu accentus discrimen; nominum multitudo numeri diversitate carentium; personarum confusio; quod longe aliis generibus, atque in aliis linguis fieri solet, res multae efferuntur; maris enim articulum tribuunt Hebraei tum Lunae tum Mari: quod loquendi genera saepenumero imperfecta sunt. The original must have been a scholarly little treatise.

¹ ix. 431, i. 559 sqq., iii. 17 (ἔθος τοῖς προφήταις πολλαχού τὰ μέλλοντα ὡς προγεγεννημένα προλέγειν).

² Ignat. *ad Philad.* ix. (Bp. Lightfoot *Ignatius* ii, p. 562).

³ The whole system of Theodore, a landmark in the history of exegesis, is fully discussed in Kihn's *Theodor von Mopsuestia* p. 134—171. Theodore recognised, it would appear, three classes among prophecies usually considered Messianic:—(1) Prophecies with a primary application to Christ and with no other historical reference, e.g. Gen. xlix., Pss. ii., viii., xliv., cix. (LXX). (2) Prophecies which primarily (im Wortsinne) refer to Old Testament events and persons but which have essential correspondences (wesentliche Grundzüge und Parallelen) with New Testament antitypes. Such are those cited in the New Testament. (3) Prophecies whose Messianic character Theodore denies, allowing only an historical application to Old Testament circumstances

(1) The use of a passage of the Old Testament in the teaching of our Lord or of the writers of the New Testament is decisive as to its prophetic character and meaning.

Thus Chrysostom says of the words, 'The stone which the builders rejected &c.,' that "it is plain that the phrase refers to Christ: for He Himself adduces this passage in the Gospels." Again, "to my mind these words (Isaiah vi. 9) stand in no need of comment: for John and Paul, who had a perfect understanding of Old and New alike, have already explained them" (v. 325, vii. 671, vi. 71).

A brief review of Chrysostom's treatment of some of the more important quotations from the Old Testament by writers of the New will best illustrate his method.

Psalms xv. (xvi.) 10, (Acts ii. 27, xiii. 35). Chrysostom passes over the quotation in St Peter's and again in St Paul's speech without special remark. Theodore on the other hand asserts that David by 'Thy Holy One' meant 'the people,' declaring "by a metaphor or hyperbolically that it was rescued from danger or destruction (*διαφθορᾶς*): but the actual and true reality is shewn forth by the Lord Christ."¹

Psalms lxvii. (lxviii.) 19 (Eph. iv. 8). The LXX. has *ἔλαβες δόματα*: St Paul *ἔδωκε δόματα*. "Chrysostom contents himself with saying that the two statements are practically the same." Theodore boldly asserts that the Apostle altered the words to suit his argument².

Hosea i. 10 (ii. 1), (Rom. ix. 25, 26). St Paul, so Chrysostom explains, argues from a greater to a less act of compassion. If God could receive Israel back, who had become estranged after so many benefits, would not those be welcomed who had not so sinned against His goodness? Hence he applies to the calling of the Gentiles words which originally and properly refer to the restoration of Israel. Theodore explains the adaptation because the main thought is, that

&c., e.g. Micah iv. 1—3; Zech. xi. 4 sq.; Hag. ii. 1—9; Mal. i. 1—11, iii. 2—5. (Kihn p. 143, 144. See also the summing-up on p. 170.) Comp. Junilius *Instit. Regularia* ii. xxii. '*De predicationibus sub lege in Christo.*'

¹ Migne 66, 232 b.

² See Dr Swete's note on Th. *in loco*.

God does not respect natural position, but makes proof of moral character¹.

Hosea xi. 1 (Matt. ii. 15). In answer to Jewish objectors Chrysostom appeals to a law of prophecy to the effect that what is said in application to one person often finds its accomplishment in the case of a different person. Christ is God's Son in a higher, truer sense than was Israel. "Had not Christ come, this prophecy would not have received its proper accomplishment."

Joel iii. 1 (ii. 28), (Acts ii. 17—21). Theodore's interpretation of this passage supplies the key to his whole position as to prophecy. He insists upon a primary meaning independent of St Peter's application. The prophet foretells a great deliverance of God's faithful people, terrible vengeance on His enemies. As in Joel's days the Holy Spirit was not revealed as a Person, the promise, which is the foundation of all, 'I will pour out my Spirit,' becomes simply a promise of Divine favour:—"I will richly grant unto all my loving-kindness (τὴν κηδεμονίαν τὴν ἐμήν)...This is the obvious meaning." But Theodore vindicates the Apostle's use of the prediction on the principle that, all that concerned those of old was mean and shadowy, so that the words have a lofty tone out of all proportion to the event. The truth of the prediction is seen to receive its accomplishment in the Lord Christ. In other words, the signal deliverances of Israel were typical. The language, in which one of these was foretold by the prophet, was so exalted that the primary accomplishment did not exhaust its meaning. The blessings of Christ's kingdom alone answered to the fulness of his words. Chrysostom on the other hand seems to refer the prophecy directly to the day of Pentecost.

Micah v. 2 (Matt. ii. 6). Theodore maintains a primary fulfilment in Zerubbabel and explains the phrase, 'Whose goings forth are from of old, from everlasting,' as a reference

¹ Chrysostom does not notice the similar difficulty as to Is. lxxv. 1, 2. || Rom. x. 20, 21. (His explanation of ἐξέπτερσας should be noted:—τὸ καλεῖσαι καὶ ἐπισπᾶσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖσαι δηλοῖ. Contrast Ep. Barn. xii., Justin Martyr *Dial.* xcvii.).

to God's ancient promise to David and his seed. The typical nature of the Davidic Kingdom (Ps. lxxxix.) explains the use of the passage in the Gospel. Chrysostom rejects this primary reference as an opinion of "some shameless Jews," on the double ground that the name Zerubbabel implies that he was born in Babylon, and that the terms of the prophecy, 'whose goings forth &c.,' could in no sense apply to him.

(2) A prophecy at times lies imbedded, having an apparent but no real connexion with its context on either side¹.

This Canon is in fact a corollary of the first. When a passage is stamped as having exclusively a Messianic reference, this character must be maintained even against appearances. Thus, as we have seen, Chrysostom holds that the words of the Psalm, 'The stone which the builders rejected,' have a primary reference to Christ. "If however the prophecy cuts the context in two, and is an interruption, there is nothing strange or novel in that: for it is thus that many of the prophecies found utterance in the Old Testament, because it was needful that they should be veiled for the time, that the books themselves should not be destroyed. For even the prediction of Christ's birth, 'Behold a Virgin shall conceive,' while it *seems* to have a close connexion with the history, has really nothing to do with it" (v. 325, comp. v. 165, vi. 26, 72). Chrysostom's treatment of Psalm cviii. (cix.) is a remarkable application of this theory. Is the passage a prediction or a curse? he asks. The answer is, a prophecy in the form of a curse². Judas is the subject of part of the Psalm, other

¹ Theodore vigorously attacks such a position. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐθαύμασα τῶν ἐπ' ἀλλοκότους τρεπομένων διαβολας, καὶ τὸ μὲν τι μέρος ἐπὶ τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ ἐκλαμβάνοντων, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ Δεσπότης Χριστοῦ... ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἀνοίας τῆς ἐσχάτης... πολλὰ τοίνυν τῶν παραδόξως γινομένων, εἴτε περὶ τὸν λαόν, εἴτε τοὺς ἐπὶ τισὶ ἐκλεγέντας, λέγει μὲν ὑπερβολικώτερον ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων ἢ γραφῇ, τῆς λέξεως κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἐχούσης· εὕρεσκειται δὲ ἀληθῆ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅτ' αὖ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κρινῆται τοῦ Δεσπότης Χριστοῦ (Migne 56, p. 556 a.).

² (1) προφητεία ἐν εἰδεί ἀρᾶς. (Comp. ἐν τάξει εὐχῆς, Ικετηρίας v. 151, 167.) Chrysostom finds a parallel in Jacob's blessings (v. 244). See Frag. of Diodore on Gen. ix. 26. Comp. the singular reference of the curse of Canaan to the Gibeonites (Gen. ix. 25), καὶ γὰρ ἐν τάξει ἀρᾶς προφητεία τὸ λεγόμενον ἦν (vi. 19, 319). (2) Chrysostom explains 'the children' metaphorically as meaning 'partners in wickedness.'

persons of the rest. "For often we find the construction of a Psalm such that its opening words refer to one person, its remaining portions to some else. Here the Psalmist passes from the fate of the traitor to speak of some one who after the Return plotted against the priesthood."¹ Thus Chrysostom's theory is a compromise. By an arbitrary division of the Psalm he tries to satisfy the demands of two methods of interpretation.

(3) Prophecy uses familiar names as indicating in cypher its true subjects².

Perhaps the most startling example of this law is found in the blessing pronounced on Judah by Jacob. "It is mystical, foretelling all things concerning the Christ: His descent among men, the mystery (i.e. the Eucharist), the Cross, the Grave, the Resurrection." Chrysostom does not stand alone among the Antiochenes in this interpretation. It is unnecessary to follow it out in detail³. Chrysostom links this principle of interpretation with his favourite explanation of 'the Obscurity of the Prophets.' "Had the Messiah been plainly spoken of in connexion with a Universal Church, the rage of the Jewish nation would have destroyed the obnoxious prophets and the obnoxious prophecies" (vi. 20). It is instructive here to compare Chrysostom with his far pro-founder contemporary and friend Theodore. Theodore insists always on an historical reference; but the history is ever typical, and the words of the prophets are instinct with a life and power which will not allow them to rest on those

¹ Cf. Argum. in *Cordarius' Catena*:—ἐκ προσώπου εἰρῆσθαι τὸν Ψαλμὸν τινες εἶπον τῶν ἐν τοῖς Μακκαβαλοῖς φιλαρέτων...ὁλον Ὀνίου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οὓς τῆς Ιερωσύνης ἀπῆλθαν. Comp. Theodore's treatment of Ps. liv. (lv).

² τοιοῦτον (προφητείας) πολλαχοῦ τὸ ἔθος, τὰ ἐφ' ἑτέρων ἐκβησόμενα ἑτέρων ὑποκειμένων προσώπων λέγειν καὶ ἀποκεχρῆσθαι ὀνόμασιν ἄλλοις ἀνθ' ἑτέρων (vi. 19, vii. 124).

³ See Theodore's comment (Migne 66, 645), and the special mention of Gen. xlix. 10 as a direct Messianic prophecy in Junilius *Instit. Regul.* ii. xxii. (Cf. Justin Martyr *Apol.* i. 32.) But comp. the interesting frag. of Diodore on Gen. xlix. 11, which ends thus: ταῦτα ἡμεῖς οὐ δύσχυριζόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τὸ φανὲν κρείττον τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καταλείψομεν· εἰδέναι μέντοι αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦντες, ὅτι τοῦ ἀλληγορικοῦ τὸ ἱστορικὸν πλείστον ὅσον προτιμῶμεν.

to whom they primarily apply, as though their force were spent.

(4) The prophecies of the Old Testament interpreted thus afford a solid foundation for a superstructure of distinctively Christian doctrine.

This is the necessary outcome of the principles already discussed. Indeed in the case of ancient commentators who adopted the system of mystical interpretation, such a statement would be too obviously true to need separate notice.

Thus the Psalms supply decisive proofs of the Divine Nature of the Lord. Chrysostom prefaces his exposition of Psalm cix. (cx.) with almost the same words with which he introduces his comments on the great Christological passage in the Philippian Epistle. The Jewish interpretations, he tells us, are numerous. Some put the Psalm into the mouth of Abraham's servant. Others interpret 'my Lord' of Zerubbabel, others of the whole people. But he himself vindicates the Psalm from such a degradation, and bids us "see the prophecy shining with a clear light above the brightness of the sun." Again, the viiith Psalm is made a handbook for the champion of orthodoxy. It would be true to say that the Psalm is the Hebrew inspired counterpart of the great Sophoclean chorus: *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κούδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει*¹. Both alike are great hymns of humanity, and shadow forth man's unique position in the world. This exaltation, which man instinctively claims but has never reached, the Incarnate Word, the Son of Man, has perfectly attained. The ideal is absolutely realized in Him. So the Psalm is Messianic and the Apostolic use of it is explained². But Chrysostom upholds its Messianic character on

¹ Soph. *Antig.* 332. If we could accept a misinterpretation of Chrysostom the parallel would be closer. He explains *ἡλάττωσας αὐτόν κ.τ.λ.* of the Fall: *τὸν θάνατον εἰς μέσον ἀγαγών*. This would answer to the sudden change in the Greek ode; "*Αἶδα μόνον φεῦξιν οὐκ ἐπάξεται*. But the Athenian dramatist could not add with the Christian preacher: *ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον ὁ Μονογενὴς ἐλθὼν ἔλυσεν*.

² This however is Chrysostom's interpretation on Hebr. ii. 8 (xii. 40):—*ταῦτα δὲ εἰ καὶ εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀνθρωπότητα εἴρηται, ἀλλ' ὁμως κυριώτερον ἀρμύσειεν ἂν τῷ Χριστῷ κατὰ σάρκα*. Theodore gives both views in frag. on Ps. viii. 3.

other grounds. In brief there are three stages in his argument. (a) Christ is the subject of the Psalm because of the mention of the children's praises. Others raised the dead. Him only did babes and sucklings adore. (b) Therefore the Crucified is the Creator of the Heavens:—'The Heavens are the work of Thy fingers.' (c) Therefore the Lord's preexistence is proved¹.

Again, the witness of prophecy is no less clear to Christ's true Humanity. The very Psalm which is the most decisive proof of His Divine Nature, as interpreted by Chrysostom, sets before us in a parable His humiliation; 'He shall drink of the brook (*ἐκ χειμάρρου*) in the way.' "Here the Psalmist shews the humility, the plainness, of His life, that with no proud bearing, no company of guards, no surroundings of material pomp, He did His work, but rather living so simply that His food was barley loaves, His drink water from the brook."²

One further illustration must suffice. The words, 'God shall come openly' (Ps. xlix. (l.) 3), imply another coming which is not open, the coming in great humility. This advent was secret, because (1) the Virgin herself knew not of the mystery: (2) the devil was ignorant of it, else he would not have asked Him on the mountain, whether He were the Son of God: (3) prophecy had said, 'He shall come down like the rain upon a fleece of wool, even as the drops that water the earth' (Ps. lxxii. 6). The third of these points is curious as an interpretation; the second as an

¹ Three other points are worth note in Chrysostom's exposition. (a) Two other interpretations of the children are suggested. (1) *The Apostles*: καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι νήπιοι σφόδρα ὄντες, καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν ἀφωνότεροι, τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ἐσαγγήνευσαν. The metaphors are remarkable. (2) *The Faithful*, children in understanding. (b) The comment on τῶν δακτύλων σου is: τῆς ἐλαχίστης ἐνεργείας ἔργον δεκνὺς τὰ δρώμενα. (c) The exaltation of man is explained, historically in reference to the creation; figuratively, ὁ Ἀδὰμ οὐτε κακὸν τι οὐτε ἀγαθὸν ἐργασάμενος, ἐτιμήθη εὐθέως γενόμενος· ἡμεῖς δὲ μυρία ἐργασάμενοι δεινὰ, πολλῶ πλείονος ἀπελαύσαμεν τιμῆς. Comp. the mediæval sequence, O culpa nimium beata.

² The 'butter and honey' of Is. vii. 15 points to the lowly Childhood (vi. 83). Ps. xlv. is described as rising from the Humanity to the Deity of Christ, as the Synoptists prepare for St John (v. 172).

almost certain reference to a passage in the letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians¹.

In his classification of the Books of the Old Testament, Chrysostom places in a separate division the Sapiential Books. Among these the Proverbs is the only one on which any consecutive comments by Chrysostom are preserved, and even in this case they are but fragmentary.

The Commentator's definition of a proverb throws light on his methods of interpretation. "Proverbs," he says, "are wise sayings, as riddles, which bear one meaning on the surface, but in a figure (ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ) suggest something quite different.... They are dark words, which appear so plain that the reader is annoyed by their lack of meaning and suggestiveness, but which, when they are examined, reveal the thought which lurks in them."²

¹ The words of Ignatius are: καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἀρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου (ad Eph. xix.). Chrysostom's singular assertion as to the Virgin (yet comp. vi. 394 τίκτεται ἐκ παρθένου ἀγροῦσης τὸ πρᾶγμα) is explained, if we suppose that he read ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς. (Comp. Milton *P. R.* i. 35 sqq.). See below p. 122.

Some passages where an allegorical interpretation is noticed are worthy of note; e.g. Ps. xliii. 2 (v. 147), xlv. 6 (172), 8 (176), 17 (181), xlv. 10 (186), xlv. 1 (188), 6 (194), cix. 2 (254), cxiv. 7 (306), cxv. 4-314, 7 (315), cxvii. 17 (323), 19 (324), cxxiii. 7 (347). The apologetic tone (οὐκ ἂν τις ἄμαρτοι) with which these interpretations are commonly introduced is characteristic. One rejection of a mystical explanation may be added. Chrysostom is commenting on the call of Isaiah and the message of one of the Seraphim with the live coal. "Some," he adds, "say that these things were symbols of the mysteries then future; but for our part we hold fast to the history." The ἀνθραξ had an important place in mystical interpretation. So Basil the Great: τάχα οὖν σημαίνει τὴν ἐν σαρκὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπιδημίαν..... ἐκέλευν δὲ ἡ σὰρξ ἥρε τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου κ.τ.λ. (Migne 20 p. 430); Isidore of Pelusium (a follower of Chrysostom) Ep. i. 42 (ἀνθραξ ἡ θεὰ ἑωρᾶτο οὐσία· λαβὼς δὲ ἡ ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῇ ἐνωθεῖσα ἀναμάρτητος σὰρξ); Cyril of Alex. *In Is. Orat.* iv. p. 107. Thus the passage is made to support the doctrine of the ἔωσις. So too the Liturgy of St James (Dr Swainson *Greek Liturgies* p. 216, 217):—ὁ διφυὴς ἀνθραξ, ὁ τῇ λαβίδι τῶν τοῦ προφήτου χειλέων ἀψάμενος.

² vi. 375 sq. For the question of etymology see below p. 106. Comp. Junilius (Kihn *Theodor* p. 476):—Quid habet proverbialis species proprium? Quod ei neque historia neque prophetia miscentur, et sola est quae ita intelligitur, ut quodammodo verborum superficies auferatur. Chrysostom's fondness for proverbial sayings is very noticeable. See Field's *Indices*.

So defined, the Proverbs might be thought to offer special scope for the exercise of the Commentator's ingenuity. In dealing with them, Chrysostom seems to consider himself freer to indulge in allegorical interpretations than elsewhere. The following are examples of his treatment.

vi. 17. "They shed innocent blood who drink the Blood of the Lord and defile themselves with shameful deeds."¹

ix. 2. The slain beasts (*θύματα*) are the Divine thoughts or the interpretations of Scripture. The mingled wine (*κρᾶμα*), the mingling of what is figurative with the history; for no man can receive Divine things when they are unmingled. For this cause in tiny portions and in divers ways Wisdom divides the Divine decrees and the interpretations of Scripture, and turns them into food for those who are becoming disciples. The slain beasts are the blessed Apostles killed in due time by unbelievers².

xxi. 9. The corner of the housetop is a good action, linked with meditation, but it is brought to light by the Sun of Righteousness. The whited house is vice acting the part of virtue³.

xxx. 15. The leech is the Devil. For it is he who squeezes out the blood, that is, the vital power, of souls. He has daughters, not sons, because he has nothing in him which is brave, but all pleasure which is effeminate⁴.

Chrysostom's method of interpretation in these instances seems a large concession to a school from which he commonly held carefully aloof. In some instances he seems directly to follow Origen. Can anything be said in explanation?

As it has been already noticed, Chrysostom's remarks in the Synopsis prepare us for some variation of treatment. He

¹ Origen (*Mai Patrum Nova Bibliotheca* vii. p. 11) refers to the Eucharist, but differently.

² Origen also (*Mai l. c.*) makes the *θύματα* to signify prophets.

³ Chrysostom's comment in sense and expression is very close to that of Origen.

⁴ Chrysostom's comments on the following passages will repay study: i. 8, v. 8, vi. 8, ix. 1, xiv. 1, 4, xvii. 1, xxiii. 1.

appears there to allow that the meaning which lies on the surface cannot be the true one. A commentator who even occasionally gives the reins to mystical interpretation might well believe that principles of simple logical and grammatical exegesis failed him here¹.

But on the other hand it seems more than probable that Chrysostom acknowledged a more literal meaning as the primary one in many, if not in all, cases. We have but fragments of his commentary on this Book, and it is obvious that the allegorical or mystical portions of his work would most commend themselves to Catenists of a later date. In some few cases the remains enable us to verify this supposition. Thus Chrysostom makes the point of the passage, 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard,' to lie in the irony; man is sent to an irrational animal to learn virtue². The irony evaporates directly doubt rests on the primary meaning. Yet Chrysostom proceeds, "Go to the ant, that is, to the nation set at naught by the rulers of this world but which has hope in Christ." The case is probably a typical one. The Commentator could himself find teaching in the obvious meaning of the words. But here at least other influences were strong enough to lead him habitually to place side by side with this a secondary mystical interpretation of the passage.

¹ This is in accordance with what is said of the Book of Wisdom in the Synopsis (*προφητεία περὶ Χριστοῦ*). Comp. a phrase in the Section on Proverbs, *ὅτι ἐστὶ σωτηρία διὰ ξύλου τοῖς πιστεύουσιν* (v. 380).

² Comp. ii. 452; v. 6; vii. 232. It is misleading to quote, as Foerster (p. 23), only the figurative interpretation. *πορεύθητε πρὸς τὴν μέλισσαν* (Prov. vi. 8) is explained figuratively of the Church: but afterwards Chrysostom adds *ὅρα πῶς μέλλοντος φροντίζει τὸ ζῆλον*.

CHAPTER III.

CHRYSTOSTOM AS CRITIC AND SCHOLAR.

IF Chrysostom's Canon of the Old Testament errs by excess, his Canon of the New, compared with that finally received by the Church, is marked by defect.

In the Synopsis a list of the Books is given. They are, the fourteen Epistles of St Paul, the four Gospels, the Book of the Acts, and of the Catholic Writings three Epistles¹. Thus the Second Epistle of St Peter, the two shorter Epistles of St John, that of St Jude and the Apocalypse are excluded. The Canon of Chrysostom coincides with that of the Peshito, and with that of Theodoret. Theodore appears also to have excluded for subjective reasons the Epistle of St James². The evidence of the Synopsis is generally confirmed by the range of the quotations in Chrysostom's voluminous writings. I do not know that there are any indications of his acquaintance with the two shorter Epistles of St John or with that of St Jude. The case however is different with the Second Epistle of St Peter, and I venture to think that the evidence for Chrysostom's knowledge of this Epistle has been understated. Cramer gives five fragments on this Epistle which bear Chrysostom's name. They are examined in a note below³.

¹ *καὶ τῶν καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τρεῖς* (vi. 318). The phrase seems to imply that others were known and excluded.

² Dr Westcott *On the Canon* p. 442 sq.

³ (1) The fragment on i. 2 is simply transferred from Chrys. xi. 347 D. (2) That on i. 9 is colourless and may be a similar transference. The three remaining are of a different kind. (3) That on i. 5 specially refers to the virtues enumerated. The following points may be noted: (a) The idiom

Again, Chrysostom's manner of reference to Prov. xxvi. 11 shows that 2 Pet. ii. 22 was in his mind. This appears if the passages and Chrysostom's words are placed side by side.

Prov. xxvi. 11. ὥσπερ κύων ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔμετον.

2 Pet. ii. 22. κύων ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἐξέραμα.

Chrys. viii. 199. εἰκοιε τῷ κυνὶ τῷ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἔμετον ἐπανιόντι.

xi. 578 B. ὥσπερ κύων ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἔμετον ἐπιστρέφων.

xii. 186 C. ἂν τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον ἔμετον ὑποστρέψῃς.

I believe Chrysostom in each case to be quoting from the Old Testament¹; but it is obvious, I think, that the ἐπιστρέψας and the ἴδιον of the Epistle mould the form of the quotation in each case. To find the traces of both these words is very different from finding the traces of one.

The evidence as to Chrysostom's acquaintance with the Apocalypse appears perhaps clearer.

Some words in the 1st Homily on St Matthew seem distinctly to refer to St John's description of the Heavenly Jerusalem:—"We are about to enter into a city, if God permit,

ταῦτα ποῖα ἦ...; τίς...ἦ...; is not, I think, uncommon in Chrys. e.g. x. 719 π (cf. Field's note vii. p. 426). (b) The play on παρουσία and περιουσία and (c) the manner of reference to the Second Advent, both harmonise with Chrys. style. (4) That on ii. 6, 7 (where read οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πασιὶν ἐπεμάλνοντο) has an exact parallel in Chrys. xi. 762 D, cf. xii. 275 A. (5) In that on ii. 16 read εἰς ἡμᾶς οὐ παραιτήσεται ἐνεργεῖν and for the infin. comp. Chrys. xi. 247 D, 312 π. The fragments are too brief to warrant a positive opinion. The language and style however seem to point to their being excerpts from some work of Chrysostom. The fragment of Eusebius of Emesa on ii. 16 given by Augusti (p. 189) appears also in Cramer p. 96.

¹ Chrys. (i. 32) quotes Prov. xxvi. 11 exactly. I owe to Dr Salmon (*Introduction* p. 606) a reference to Theodoret (*In Dan.* iii. 1), ὥσπερ κύων εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἔμετον, ἣ φησιν ἡ θεία γραφή and to 'Chrysostom's friend Basil' (*Adv. Enom.* v. 1)—does not Dr Salmon fall into Socrates' (vi. 3) mistake?—who quotes 2 Pet. ii. 4. It seems also possible that Chrys. reading of Lk. ix. 31, ἐλάλουν τὴν δόξαν (vii. 567, 584) is a reminiscence of 2 Pet. i. 17 (λαβὼν...τιμὴν κ. δόξαν).

golden and more precious than all gold. Let us mark then its foundations, its gates made of sapphire and pearls. For indeed we have in Matthew a noble guide. It is through his gate that we enter now, and we must needs shew all diligence. For if he sees any not giving good heed, he casts him out of the city. For the city is a royal and glorious city, not like earthly cities with market-place and palace apart; but there the whole is a palace."¹

Again, if we may trust Palladius' report, Chrysostom used a phrase from the Apocalypse when leaving his flock at Constantinople. "Come," he is represented as saying, "let us, when we have prayed, bid farewell to the angel of the Church (*συνταξώμεθα τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*)."² Other indications are less clear, but there can be little doubt that Chrysostom was acquainted with the Apocalypse³.

Suidas expressly tells us that Chrysostom received the three Epistles of St John and the Apocalypse⁴. This assertion together with the evidence already detailed may be thought to point to the conclusion that Chrysostom later in life used the disputed Books, and (if we accept the fragments on St Peter in Cramer's *Catena*) commented on one of them, while at the same time they remained less familiar to him, and were thus outside the range of his common quotations.

Chrysostom's position in regard to tradition needs but little discussion. He argues from the Apostolic precept, 'Hold fast the traditions,' that "the Apostles delivered many things without writing (*ἀγράφως*)...Therefore let us regard

¹ vii. 17. Comp. Apoc. xxi. xxii.

² Palladius *Dial.* ch. x.

³ Comp. (a) *δεικνυσιν ἐνταῦθα πολλὰς τὰς σάλπιγγας γινόμενας* (on 1 Thess. iv. 16. Comp. Severian and especially Theodore ap. Cramer on 1 Cor. xv. 52). (b) *μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τότε οἱ γάμοι, τότε ὁ νυμφίος... εἰς τοὺς γάμους τοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος καλούμενοι* (on Matt. xxii. 1—14), comp. Apoc. xix. 7, 9. (c) *τίς γὰρ αὐτῶν (τῶν δστρων) ἔσται χρεῖα λοιπόν, νυκτὸς οὐκ οἴσσης;* (on Matt. xxiv. 29), comp. Apoc. xxi. 25. Long before Theophilus of Antioch had quoted the Apoc. (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 24). Junilius *Instit. Regul.* p. 475 (Kihn *Theodor*), probably giving Theodore's opinion, says, "De Johannis Apocalypsi apud Orientales admodum dubitatur."

⁴ Sub voce *Ἰωάννης*, quoted by Dr Westcott (*Canon* p. 442).

the tradition of the Church as worthy of credence. It is tradition, ask no more."¹ Another passage gives a special instance of this tradition. "It is not without reason," he says, "that the Apostles ordained that mention should be made of the departed in the awful Mysteries."²

It is noteworthy that Chrysostom expressly rejects as forgeries the stories of miracles said to have been wrought by our Lord in His childhood³.

The later writers of the Antiochene school shew little interest in textual questions⁴. The most recent investigations

¹ Comp. ix. 2, οὐκ ἐν τῷ λογογραφεῖν ἢν αὐτοῖς ἡ σπουδή· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἀγράψφω παραδόσει δεδοκασί.

² xi. 217 E. Comp. πνεύματος γὰρ διατάζει ταῦτα γίνεσθαι (x. 393 A, see Field's note), and see Hammond *The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch* p. 16. Chrysostom suggests that in 2 Tim. iii. 8 the Apostle was following an unwritten tradition, unless he received a special revelation on the matter. Comp. Foerster *Chrysostom* p. 51, Weiss *Die grossen Kappadocier* p. 22 sq.

³ viii. 99, 121.

⁴ The newly discovered Codex Beratinus (Codex Purpureus φ) has an interesting connexion with Chrysostom's name. Particulars about it were first given by M. Batiffol in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire publiés par l'Ecole Française de Rome*, 1885. The article was reviewed by Gebhardt in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (Dec. 12. 1885). An English account by Prof. Stokes is to be found in the *Expositor* Jan. 1886. The art. in the *Mélanges* is reprinted by M. Batiffol with important alterations and additions in a monograph *Les Manuscrits Grecs de Bérat d'Albanie et le Codex Purpureus φ*, Paris 1886. He here gives the text of the MS. in full. The chief points are these. (a) Anthimus, Metropolitan of Berat, in a history of his diocese (1868) mentioned two MSS.; the one comprising the Four Gospels, the property of the Church of the Annunciation, believed according to an ancient tradition to be in the handwriting of John Chrysostom, brought out year by year on the festival of the Saint (Jan. 27) for public veneration; the other consisting of St Matthew and St Mark with the note βλέπετε οἱ ὁρῶντες τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου οικειόχειρα γράμματα τοῦ παρόντος τούτου εὐαγγελίου, ὅστος αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν αὐτοῦ πατρίδα, ὑπάρχοντος αὐτοῦ διακόνου τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. The first of these is *Codex Aureus Anthimi*, a beautiful cursive of the 10th century, the second *Codex Beratinus*, preserved in the Episcopal Palace. (b) A diptych of the Church of St George at Berat commemorates a certain layman named Skouripekis who in 1356 during an invasion rescued some MSS., a list of which is preserved; one of them is τετραεναγγελιον τὸ οικειόχειρον τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἀσημόγραφον. This MS. M. Batiffol at first identified with *Cod. Aur. Anthimi*, supposing that the note attached to *Cod. φ* given above, being only copied on a binding of this century

tend to shew that, "before the close of the fourth century, a Greek text not materially differing from the almost universal text of the ninth century and the Middle Ages was dominant, probably by authority, at Antioch, and exercised much influence elsewhere....The centre [of Greek Christendom], looked up to increasingly as such while time went on, was Constantinople. Now Antioch is the true ecclesiastical parent of Constantinople; so that it is no wonder that the traditional Constantinopolitan text, whether formally official or not, was the Antiochene text of the fourth century."¹ Chrysostom's comparative silence on the subject of variations of reading seems to be an indication that he regarded the question of text as authoritatively settled. His archiepiscopate at Constantinople gave a quasi-formal sanction in that metropolis of Christianity to the traditions and decisions of the Antiochenes. Hence the importance of his position in regard to the history of the text of the New Testament. I propose briefly to discuss passages where Chrysostom (1) notices a variation of reading, or (2) a variation of punctuation; or (3) adopts a reading to which for some reason interest attaches.

from an earlier note, had been wrongly transferred from *Cod. Anthimi*. This view was rejected by Gebhardt and has now been withdrawn. M. Batiffol now supposes that the note of the diptych was popularly connected with *Cod. Anthimi* because the latter was deposited in a public church and hence was accessible, and also because it is of a more costly character than *Cod. φ*. (c) M. Batiffol (who as to the classification of MSS. follows Drs. Westcott and Hort) holds that *Cod. φ*, like *Cod. Rossanensis*, was written about the close of the 5th century; that, while its text is mainly Syrian, there is an admixture of other readings, some Western, some non-Western, this non-Syrian element to some extent resembling that in *Cod. N* (*Purpureus*) and *Cod. Σ* (*Rossanensis*). (*Les Manuscrits Grecs* &c. pp. 9—36, 122—126.) (d) Though the MS. itself cannot be Chrysostom's work, yet it may be the copy of one actually written by his own hand and thus may be taken as some indication of a survival of interest in textual matters at Antioch 381—386 A.D. *Cod. φ* does not appear to give any reading which is specially characteristic of Chrysostom (yet see on Matt. vii. 14, below p. 87).

¹ Westcott and Hort *Introduction* p. 142 sq. I have of course read the Dean of Chichester's remarkable book *The Revision Revised* (sic). A study

(1) The discussion of various readings in Chrysostom is very rare and very meagre.

John i. 28. ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἐν Βηθανίᾳ. Note the order. "But the more accurate copies have, in Bethabara (ὅσα δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἀκριβέστερον ἔχει, ἐν Βηθαβαρᾷ, φησὶν). For Bethany is not beyond the Jordan or in the wilderness, but quite near Jerusalem." Chrysostom "doubtless follows Origen" (Westcott and Hort *Notes on Select Readings*). Compare Theodore (Migne 66. 733 c) ταῦτα δὲ ἐγένετο οὐκ ἐν τῇ Βηθανίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Βηθαρᾷ, ὡς τὰ ἀκριβῆ περιέχει τῶν ἀντιγράφων. The accuracy of the copies depends, it will be seen, on the plausibility of their reading.

John xvii. 7. νῦν ἐγνώσαν ὅτι πάντα, ἃ ἔδωκάς μοι, παρὰ σοῦ ἦσαν. Chrysostom is perhaps the only authority for ἦσαν. "Some read (τινὲς μὲν γὰρ λέγουσιν), Now I know that all things whatsoever Thou hast given me, are from Thee (ἐγνων...ὅσα δέδωκάς...ἐστιν). But this is not reasonable; for how should the Son be ignorant of that which is the Father's?"

Romans ii. 26. οὐχὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτοῦ εἰς περιτομὴν μετατραπήσεται; "He did not say, shall be reckoned (λογισθήσεται), but shall be turned (τραπήσεται), which is a more forcible word." There seems to be no other authority for this reading. Compare Field's note.

2 Corinthians v. 3. εἴγε καὶ ἐκδυσάμενοι, οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρεθισόμεθα. "That is, though we lay aside the body, yet shall we not be presented there without a body, but with our present body then made incorruptible. But some have a reading, certainly to be preferred (τινὲς δὲ φασιν, ὃ καὶ μάλιστα ἐγκριτέον), εἴπερ καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι, οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρεθισόμεθα. For that all may not take courage by reason of the Resurrection, the Apostle says, If so be that having put on, that is, if we receive (λαβόντες) incorruptibility, we shall not be found naked, bereft of glory and safety." Chrysostom reads ἐνδυσάμενοι elsewhere e.g. ii. 434. Compare Field's note.

Philippians i. 18. πλὴν παντὶ τρόπῳ...Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται. "He said not, καταγγελλέσθω, as some fancy, asserting that he admits the heresies, but, καταγγέλλεται." Compare iii. 302 (a separate homily on the passage); see also Dr Swete's note on Theodore (i. p. 208). This reading is also found in Eus. *Vita Const.* iii. 58.

Ephesians v. 14. καὶ ἐπιφάνσεις τοῦ Χριστοῦ. "But others read, ἐπιφάνσει σοι ὁ Χριστός: and this is the better (μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι)." Jerome tells a story of a preacher who explained the passage as a prophecy addressed to Adam, who was buried on

of the 'internal (intrinsic) evidence' irresistibly leads to the conclusion that there is a 'primitive error' in the third word of the title. Influenced unconsciously by the sound the author himself substituted an *s* for an *l*.

Calvary:—"Surge Adam qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et non ut legimus *ἐπιφανέσει σοι Χριστός*, id est, orietur tibi Christus, sed *ἐπιφανέσει*, id est, continget te Christus, quia videlicet tactu sanguinis ipsius et corporis dependentis vivificetur atque consurgat." (See Dr Swete's note on Theodore *ad loc.* and Westcott and Hort's *Appendix*.) Chrysostom on John xix. 17 mentions the tradition as to Adam's burial.

(2) Questions of punctuation receive more frequent and more adequate treatment.

Matthew viii. 9. *καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν, ἔχω ὑπ' ἐμαυτὸν στρατιώτας*. Chrysostom (vii. 318 c) mentions some who put the stop before the words *ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν*. Theodore, as his words are preserved by Facundus and in the Acts of the Fifth Council, adopted this punctuation (Migne 66. 707, 708):—"Homo enim et ego: sed tamen, quorum accepi potestatem, horum sum dominus." On this he bases the conclusion that the Centurion did not approach Christ as Son of God but "tanquam hominem per virtutem adeptum a Deo majorem quam est hominis potestatem." (For Theodore's doctrine as to the Incarnation see the passages in Swete ii. p. 293 sq. especially p. 298 lines 10—20.)

Luke i. 27 (vii. 26 A, ii. 358 B). Chrysostom notices that the words *ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατρὶός* (sic) *Δαυὶδ* may be referred to the Virgin.

John i. 3, 4. *χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν· ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν*. "We shall not put the full stop after *οὐδὲ ἓν*, as the heretics do; for in their desire to speak of the Holy Spirit as a creature, they read (*φασίν*), *ὃ γέγονεν, ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν*." Chrysostom concludes an elaborate discussion by saying, "Let us turn to the recognised (*τὴν νενομισμένην*) reading and interpretation." Athanasius, it may be noted, before the Macedonian heresy had developed, adopted the old punctuation which Chrysostom rejects (*Orat. c. Ar. i. 13*). Theodore (Migne 66. 729), apparently supporting Chrysostom's punctuation, mentions (1) some who put the stop after *ἐν αὐτῷ*: *τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένων οὐδὲν γέγονε χωρὶς αὐτοῦ*: (2) those who put the stop after *οὐδὲ ἓν*. *ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἀμέτοχα ζωῆς ἐστίν, ὡς γῆ καὶ ὕλη*. Does not the last sentence imply that *ἐν αὐτῷ* in this view is taken closely with *ὃ γέγονεν*, limiting it to the rational creation?

John v. 27. Chrysostom would put the stop after *κρίσιν ποιῆν*, and then continue, *ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ μὴ θαυμάζετε*. The ordinary punctuation he assigns to Paul of Samosata, adding that in it all connexion is sacrificed.

John vii. 38. Chrysostom meets the difficulty as to the quotation by putting the stop (*ὑποστίξαι δεῖ*) after *ἡ γραφή*. "He that believeth in me, as the Scripture said." The following clause is then the Lord's statement.

1 Cor. v. 4. Chrysostom prefers the common arrangement of clauses. He however mentions some who put a comma or a colon

(ὑποστίξαντες ἐν ταῦθα ἢ μίσην θέντες) after the words Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, making the whole clause mean, "him who did despise to the name of Christ (τὸν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνυβρίσαντα)."

2 Corinthians iv. 4. ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσε τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων. Chrysostom, vindicating this passage from the Marcionites, would so read it as to make it equivalent to τῶν ἀπίστων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ νοήματα: in other words, as Theodoret says distinctly, a comma should come after ὁ θεός. Chrysostom adds that the other reading and interpretation gives no real support to the heretics. Irenaeus (iii. 7. 1, comp. Tert. Adv. Marc. v. 11) was perhaps the inventor of this apologetic comma. Compare the Marcionite reading and punctuation of Luke xx. 35, Quos vero dignatus sit Deus illius aevi (Tert. adv. Marcionem iv. 38.)

Colossians ii. 17. τὸ δὲ σῶμα Χριστοῦ. "Some punctuate thus... But others, τὸ σῶμα Χριστοῦ μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς καταβραβεύετω." Chrysostom takes apparently τὸ σῶμα in apposition to ὑμᾶς. He explains that καταβραβεύειν is used when one person gains the victory and another receives the prize, and he gives as a gloss ἐπηρεάζετω.

Sometimes Chrysostom adopts an unusual punctuation without any special notice.

Galatians ii. 7. Chrysostom takes ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον in close connexion with the preceding clause. He then gives two interpretations: (1) The other apostles not only did not teach St Paul, but were even taught by him; (2) They were so far from blaming St Paul that they commended him. Chrysostom adopts the second interpretation. Theodore mentions this punctuation only to reject it.

Hebrews xii. 1. τοσούτον ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων, ὄγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα. Chrysostom takes μαρτύρων ὄγκον in apposition to νέφος and πάντα as neuter plural, πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. So an anonymous writer in Cramer. Severian (in Cramer) and Theodoret do not follow Chrysostom.

(3) A third class of passages remains, where the reading followed by Chrysostom without discussion has some interest.

Chrysostom, as a preacher, quotes from memory. A single instance will illustrate what changes he introduces into a passage in repeated quotations:—Luke xxii. 31, 32, ἰδοὺ, ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐξητήσατο ὑμᾶς, τοῦ σινιάσαι ὡς σῖτον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐδεήθην περὶ σοῦ. (1) The whole point is lost by the insertion of ποσάκις in the first clause (v. 344, vi. 166). (2) ἐξητήσατο appears as ἡτήσατο (iii. 35), ᾗτησεν (i. 496), ἐξήτησεν (v. 473), ἐξήτησεν (v. 369), ἠθέλησεν (xi. 225). (3) The whole is changed by reading σινιάσαι σε (v. 344, xii. 288). (4) The last clause becomes καὶ οὐ συνεχώρησα

(xii. 288). Yet no one disputes that our present Gospels were in Chrysostom's hands.

Some of the following passages must no doubt be explained as quotations made by memory.

Matthew vi. 28. Chrysostom in place of ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ (which yet appears at the head of the Homily) reads (vii. 275 c), ἐν πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, which he explains thus, "Solomon was proved inferior to the flowers in splendour, not once or twice, but throughout his whole reign."

Matthew vii. 14. Once Chrysostom (xi. 492) reads τί στενή ἡ ὁδός; Christ "did not simply say, it is narrow, but wonderingly (μετὰ θαυμασμοῦ), τί στενή ἡ ὁδός, that is, σφόδρα στενή. (Codex φ reads τί στενή ἡ πύλη κ.τ.λ.) Elsewhere in Chrysostom's works the words are correctly quoted.

Matthew viii. 11. Chrysostom several times reads ἀνακλιθῆσονται εἰς [τοὺς] κόλπους Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ (vii. 209, 315, 361, comp. 319). Has it been noticed that this is a 'subsingular' reading of Chrysostom and Clem. *Hom.* viii. 4?

Matthew x. 29. The familiar words are given in this form, ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐ πεσεῖται εἰς παγίδα ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς (vii. 391). This reading is implied also in Clem. *Hom.* xii. 31 (ἐν παγίδι ἐμπεσεῖν). Chrysostom however may have known of the reading through Origen (see quotations in Field's note). In another passage (vii. 133) these words are omitted though the addition τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς is still retained¹.

Matthew xxvii. 49. Chrysostom introduces the words ἕτερος δὲ προσελθὼν λογιῇ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἐνύξε, before the words ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κράξας. His comment (καὶ εἰς νεκρὸν σῶμα λοιπὸν ὑβρίζοντες) betrays confusion, unless we may conjecture either (a) that before εἰς νεκρὸν α ὥς has fallen out, or (b) that ὥς has been changed to εἰς. (For the construction in the latter case comp. e.g. vii. 822 E.). That Chrysostom is influenced by the remembrance of St. John's words is clear when he adds, "after He was smitten the fountains of our salvation gushed forth."

Mark vii. 19 (vii. 526). ὁ δὲ Μάρκος φησὶν, ὅτι καθαρίζων τὰ βρώματα, ταῦτα ἔλεγεν. See Field's *Otium Norvicense, Pars Tertia*, p. 23.

Luke ix. 31. See above page 80 note 1.

John v. 13. Chrysostom substitutes ἐξέκλινεν for the harder word ἐξένευσεν. Field (*Otium Norvic.* p. 65) notices that in Jud. iv. 18 "the Vat. MS. reads ἐκκλινον but the Alex. ἔκνευσον."

John vi. 46. ὁ ὢν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. Chrysostom substitutes the preposition ἐκ; hence his comment τοῦτο λέγων...κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τῆς οὐσίας.

¹ Chrysostom's reference to John iii. 5 (ἀναγεννηθῇ...τῶν οὐρανῶν, i. 383) should be compared with that of Justin *Ap.* i. 61 and Clem. *Hom.* xi. 26 (see Dr Westcott *Canon*, Preface, p. xxx).

John vii. 1. Chrysostom reads οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περιπατεῖν, explaining that the strong expression refers to Christ's human nature. It appears to be an early Western reading (lat. vt., syr. vt.).

John viii. 57. Chrysostom reads τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη οὕτω ἔχεις, adding, "so that Christ was now nearly forty years old." The variant (which has the support of a few MSS. and Fathers) perhaps arose from a reminiscence of Irenaeus (ii. 33. 4, Ei autem qui sit xxx annorum diceretur utique: quadraginta annorum nondum es). Chrysostom says elsewhere (xi. 381), "Christ had not reached old age when He died, but was so fair that no words can describe His beauty."

John xi. 54. Chrysostom substitutes Ἐφρατά for Ἐφραίμ.

Acts ix. 35. Chrysostom reads οἱ κατοικοῦντες Λύδαν καὶ τὸν Ἀσάρωνα.

Acts xi. 20 (ix. 200, 203). Chrysostom twice reads ἐλάλουν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστάς, but in both places in his comment he appears to revert to the reading Ἑλλήνας.

Romans iv. 1. Chrysostom (1) omits εὐρηκεῖν and (2) wavers between πατέρα and προπάτορα (διὸ καὶ σφόδρα σεμνύνει προπάτορα καλῶν).

Romans vi. 17. Chrysostom (ix. 430) adds καθαρὰς from 1 Tim. i. 5, 2 Tim. ii. 22. (Not so ix. 536.)

1 Corinthians vi. 20. Chrysostom following a Western (Latin) reading has δοξάσατε δὴ, ἄρατε τὸν θεόν (x. 153 E), and elsewhere (227 D) δοξάσατε δὴ ἄρα τὸν θεόν. The latter reading, as shewing the origin of the Western variant, must be an early one. Bp Lightfoot's note on ὁ θεοφόρος (*Ignatius* ii. p. 21) shews the prevalence of this thought in early Christian writers.

1 Corinthians vii. 3. Chrysostom reads τὴν ὀφειλομένην τιμὴν (cf. 1 Pet. iii. 7). The same reading reappears vii. 117. But he goes on as if he had read ὀφειλὴν:—διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὀφειλὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐκάλεσεν κ.τ.λ., and again, ἀποστέρησιν νῦν ἣν ὀφειλὴν ἀνωτέρω εἶπεν. But the common reading εὐνοίαν is given in i. 288, iii. 198 (see Field's note on 1 Cor. l.c.). Chrysostom agrees with Theodoret's explanation of εὐνοία: περὶ σωφροσύνης ταῦτα νομοθετεῖ.

1 Corinthians viii. 11. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶπεν, ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ τελειότητι οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ γνώσει ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ βρώσει.

1 Corinthians xv. 36. Chrysostom in one place (xi. 473 B, not apparently elsewhere) reads σὺ δ' σπείρεις οὐ ζωογονεῖται (comp. 1 Tim. vi. 13). Theodoret has the same reading once viz. *Orat. 3 de Providentia*. A is the only Uncial authority which has it.

2 Corinthians i. 11. Chrysostom twice gives ἐν πολλῶν προσώπων (apparently a Western reading): yet his gloss immediately following seems to imply the common reading: ἵνα τὰ πολλὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῷ εὐχαριστήσῃ. In xi. 430 he gives the common reading; in xi. 534 the words in question are altogether omitted.

Hebrews ix. 1. Chrysostom adds τότε after λατρείας, apparently

reading τό τε twice over. He lays stress on his insertion—τότε· ὡσανεὶ νῦν, φησὶν, οὐκ ἔχει· ἤδη δείκνυσιν αὐτὴν ἐκκεχωρηκυῖαν.

Hebrews xii. 18. Chrysostom reads ψηλαφωμένῳ καὶ κεκαυμένῳ πυρί. His comment is worth noting as an indication of the way in which the gloss ὄρει arose. τί γὰρ τὸ Σινᾶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν; τί δὲ τὸ ψηλαφώμενον πῦρ πρὸς τὸν ἀψηλάφητον θεόν;

A review of Chrysostom's relation to textual questions appears to warrant three inferences:—(1) The rarity of any direct discussion on a matter of reading seems to confirm the theory that some authoritative settlement of the text had taken place; (2) the character of the few discussions we have noticed shews that the typical Antiochene teacher took surface plausibility as the standard of excellence¹; (3) the survival of curious Pre-Syrian readings², sometimes early traditional readings, oftener Western, may suggest the conclusion that the Antiochene recension was but recent in Chrysostom's time.

The discussion of Chrysostom's detailed treatment of the New Testament includes questions which were out of place in an investigation of his work on the Old Testament. In the latter case there lies an appeal to an original which he was unable to use. In the former he possessed advantages which are not ours. He spoke the language of the Books which he interpreted. It does not however follow that the opinion of Chrysostom must be always received as necessarily superior to that of modern scholarship. The very fact that he was dealing with works written in a language still in common use deprived him of an incentive to accurate and minute investigation. He is not conscious of that friction which a commentator of our own day feels. And further, though this is probably a consideration of less importance, the Greek language had not stood still during the three centuries which separated Chrysostom from the Apostles.

"Multa renascentur quae jam cecidere, cadentque
Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi."

¹ Comp. the complaint of Theodore (on Hebr. ii. 9), himself an offender:—τιθέντες τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς εὐκολον εἶναι πρὸς καταπόνησιν.

² Comp. pp. 138, 148.

The last point deserves a brief notice. The history of Byzantine Greek has been divided into three periods, the first of which begins with Constantine's foundation of 'New Rome' and ends with the first quarter of the seventh century. Chrysostom's life falls within the earliest subdivision of the period. "The language, notwithstanding the changes it had undergone, retained its original character as late as the sixth century, that is, it was ancient Greek in the strictest sense of the expression. The spoken language formed the base of the written, but at the same time it contained many words and phrases which good scholars generally avoided. Thus Chrysostom's *style*, although superior to that of an uneducated person, was level to the comprehension of the common people of Constantinople, with whom he was a great favourite."¹ The influence of this growth (or should it be called decay?) is seen in Chrysostom's (1) grammatical constructions and (2) use of words.

(1) *Grammatical constructions.* The process of change in this respect was already in full operation in Hellenistic Greek. At the close of the fourth century the greater laxity of language had become dominant, and its results in Chrysostom's case are visible side by side with traces of culture and learning. Thus the syntax of *ἄν, εἰ, ἕως ἄν, ὅταν, ἵνα* in his prose differs not only from the standard of Classical Greek, but also from that of the New Testament².

(2) *The use of words.* Besides words which are the special property of later or of colloquial Greek, we find instances of others, the sharpness of whose meaning has been blunted, or whose special sense has been merged in that which is general

¹ Sophocles *Lexicon of Byzantine Greek* p. 9. The three periods above referred to are; (1) A. D. 330—622; (2) A. D. 622—1099; (3) A. D. 1099—1453.

Special influences affecting Chrysostom's scholarship are:—(1) the study of Classical Greek: thus it has been noted he specially imitates passages in Demosthenes (see Field's Indices); see also his frequent reference (*ἡρώτος ἐκείνου*) to the great passage in the *Phaedrus*, e.g. ii. 288, iii. 25, ix. 460, xi. 36 &c. Comp. for Classical references i. 63, 74; (2) the teaching of Libanius; (3) the influence of Hellenistic Greek.

² See Field's Indices and comp. for a wider selection of examples Mullah *Grammatik der Griechischen Vulgarsprache* pp. 50 sq., 306 sq.

and colourless. Thus, to take an instance of a word of late growth, Chrysostom uses the colloquial *πείσμα* as a gloss on the word *εὐδοκία*, excusing his use of a novel expression on the plea that thus his comment was more pointed for humbler folk¹. Of the latter case the word *αὐτομολεῖν* is an example. In Classical Greek it consistently bears a bad sense—to desert: in Chrysostom's time the general notion of 'escape,' 'taking refuge with,' alone survived, and any notion of disparagement had entirely passed away².

This development of the language blinds the commentator's eyes to the full significance of at least two characteristically Pauline words.

There are few more striking metaphors in St Paul's Epistles than that of the Heavenly citizenship. As it occurs in the Philippian Epistle (i. 27, iii. 20), it gathers up the Apostle's remembrances of his first planting the church there, and the associations alike of the capital from which, and the colony to which, he is writing. It is an image instinct with life. But Chrysostom passes it over without any adequate notice. If he is not entirely unconscious of its force, its interest is too shadowy to detain him for a moment³. But this neglect is not without a cause. It might be urged that in the age which produced a Eutropius, the less a Christian preacher said about Roman citizenship as a type of the Heavenly, the better. But the reason is really linguistic. Numberless instances might be quoted from Chrysostom and earlier writers in which the word *πολιτεία* is simply equivalent to *βίος* or *ἀναστροφή*⁴.

If here Chrysostom misses a characteristic metaphor, in

¹ xi. 5, 523. In one instance at least Chrysostom notices a similar usage in the New Testament itself (John iv. 31):—*ἡρώτων ἐνταῦθα παρεκάλουν ἔστι, τῇ ἐγχωρίῳ αὐτῶν φωνῇ*.

² See Field's note on x. 690.

³ *ἐκεῖ ἔσμεν λαμπροί, ἐνθα καὶ πολιτευόμεθα* (xi. 299 f). Comp. *πάντα ἡμῖν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, φησὶ, καὶ σωτὴρ καὶ πόλις, καὶ ὅ,τι ἂν εἴπῃ τις* (301 v); *ὅταν πατρίδα ἔχωμεν ἐκεῖ καὶ πόλιν καὶ πολίτευμα* (xii. 141 v).

⁴ "Since the sensible edict of the senseless Caracalla any freeman from Antioch to Lisbon enjoyed the franchise equally with the descendants of the Pisos" (Mason *Persecution of Diocletian* p. 11). Chrysostom himself says,

other places he overlooks a striking oxymoron for the same reason. In the Pauline phrase παρακαλούμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς... φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν, the word φιλοτιμεῖσθαι can only justify its insertion by the paradox it suggests. Chrysostom however says nothing, either here or in the two other places in which the word is found, which would not apply to the most colourless synonym¹. The edges of words are rubbed off by the wear of time.

The way has now been cleared for some examination of Chrysostom's treatment of questions of Greek scholarship. I have collected his comments under different grammatical heads. It must never be forgotten that the works of Chrysostom in which these notes occur were not written dissertations but extemporary addresses to the *people* of Antioch and of Constantinople.

(1) *The Article*. A Greek preacher speaking to a Greek audience might often indicate the presence or the force of

ἀπὸ Ἀδριανου φασὶ πάντας Ῥωμαίους ὀνομασθῆναι, τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν οὐχ οὕτως ἦν (ix. 359).

The use of the word in the Caesarean Creed put forward by Eusebius at Nicaea is interesting: τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον (Soer. H. E. i. 8). If we are tempted to take the word in a colourless sense (comp. the 'Dated Creed,' ἀναστραφέντα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν Soer. H. E. ii. 37), we are checked by a reference to another Creed (Apost. Constit. vii. 41) καὶ πολιτευσάμενον ὁσίως κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

¹ In later Greek the noun and the verb alike have the notion of (1) earnest endeavour: e.g. Chrysostom vii. 317 c, (the Centurion) ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδεν τὸν Χριστὸν φιλοτιμούμενον...see Fragments of Diodore on Rom. v. 15. (2) generosity: Chrysostom xii. 109 b, Σαμαρείτης τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐκείνην ἅπασαν ἐνεδείξατο. So Theodore on Rom. v. 21 ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ φιλοτιμία (cf. on vi. 14). Hence the technical sense of a public benefaction, see Bp Lightfoot *Ignatius* ii. p. 482. (Mr Field on the other hand (*Otium Norvic.* iii. p. 100) holds that the word 'to strive' 'adequately conveys the Apostle's meaning,' and supports his position with quotations.) A parallel to this paradoxical phrase occurs, I believe, in Eph. iv. 8, σπουδάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἐνότητα. (For the technical sense of σπουδή see Dem. *de Falsa Leg.* 341.) "Be partizans in your enthusiastic efforts to guard against partizanship." Possibly the paradox is kept up in the words ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης (σύνδεσμος = 𐤒𐤕𐤒 4 Kings xi. 14, xii. 20, Jer. xi. 9 LXX.). We have then here a paradox drawn from the language of political life parallel to the paradox drawn from a military term ἡ εἰρήνη...φρουρήσει (Phil. iv. 7). Comp. Hebr. x. 24.

the article by the mere tone of his voice. But at times the point would need distinct explanation and illustration¹. Thus Chrysostom insists on the full significance of the article in the opening words of Psalm xlv. (xlv.), τὰ ἔργα μου τῷ βασιλεῖ (Hebr. מְלִכִּי). This king is the true king. More important is ἡ παρθένος (Hebr. מְלֵצָה) of Isaiah vii. 14. The article, Chrysostom urges, points to some one of note, alone answering to the prophet's description. As parallels he adduces the phrases ὁ λόγος, ὁ Χριστός, ὁ προφήτης from St John's Gospel. In such cases the article isolates (ὡν ἕκαστον ἐξάρπτεον ἦν). This clear view of the use of the article is of service when its exact tone is not so obvious. Thus the expression ἡ ὀργή in the New Testament is specially applied to the Divine wrath². In 1 Thess. ii. 16—ἐφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος—Chrysostom inadequately explains the article as denoting a wrath foreordained and foretold. But his comment on Rom. xii. 19—δότε τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ—leaves nothing to be desired. The apostle speaks of the wrath of God. In one difficult and important passage (2 Cor. iii. 16, 17) Chrysostom appeals to a subtler use of the article to decide a question of interpretation³. Certain expositors, Chrysostom remarks, explain the words "whenever it shall turn to the Lord" as referring to the Son, and compare the phrase which follows, ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι, with the words of the Gospel πνεῦμα ὁ θεός. In answer to these he insists on the wide difference between the two constructions, and notes that the article is not put with the predicate (τῷ ἐπιθέτῳ ἄρθρον οὐ προστίθησιν). He himself understands the passage as vindicating the true Deity of the Holy Spirit.

It is indeed when doctrinal issues are involved, that the

¹ Diodore (fragm. on Gen. i. 2) has a note worth quoting. After noticing that ἀβύσσος has, and σκότος has not, the article, he adds καὶ σκότος γὰρ φησιν ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου· ἐπεὶ περ τὸ μὲν ἀνυπόστατον, τὸ δὲ οὐσιώδες.

² Comp. Thdt. on τὸ θέλημα Rom. ii. 18. So the anarthrous θέλημα in 1 Cor. xvi. 12 is explained by Origen (ap. Cramer *Catena*) οὐκ ἀνευ θελήματος θεοῦ, and by Thdt. τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίᾳ τὸ πᾶν ἀνέθηκεν.

³ Theodore is on quite the same lines as Chrysostom. Theodoret states only the general results (ἐδείξε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὸ ὁμότιμον).

interest of these grammatical questions culminates. Such was not unfrequently the case, when the Catholic doctrine of the Son of God had not yet made good its victory over Arianism. Thus Chrysostom presses the force of the article with words descriptive of, or with the titles of, the Son. By prefixing the article to the word λόγος the Evangelist marks His complete separation from all other things, and refutes the notion that He is simply an uttered or an immanent word. And further, "as '*the Word*' shews His unique position, and '*the Son*' His superiority over all other sons, so also '*the Lamb*,' '*the Christ*,' '*the Prophet*,' '*the true Light*,' '*the good Shepherd*,' and all similar expressions with the article, mark the vastness of the interval between Him and all things else."¹ But a graver question still remained. The adherents of Subordinationism, and later the champions of Arianism, had insisted on a distinction which they drew between ὁ θεός used of the Father as αὐτόθεος, the Fountain of Deity, and θεός used of the Word as δεύτερος θεός. "The heretics," says Chrysostom, speaking of his own days, "maintain that John used the phrase, καὶ θεός ἦν ὁ λόγος, where θεός is without the article, to signify the inferiority of the Deity of the Son, and again that when Paul says that the Son was in the form of God (ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ), he does not speak of the Father, because of the absence of the article."²

In answer to this argument Chrysostom in different parts of his writings urges the following considerations. (1) The anarthrous θεός is used of the Father in the immediate con-

¹ viii. 12, 20, 106, 111.

² Origen *In Joan.* Tom. ii. 108 B (ed. Migne) τίθησι μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἄρθρον ὅτε ἡ θεὸς ὀνομασία ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγενήτου τάσσεται τῶν ὄλων αἰτίου, σιωπᾷ δὲ αὐτό, ὅτε ὁ λόγος θεὸς ὀνομάζεται. The whole context should be studied. Origen is here following in the steps of Philo, *Quod a Deo mittantur somnia* (ed. Mangey i. 655), ὁ ἱερός λόγος ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὸν μὲν ἀληθεῖα διὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου μεμήνηκεν, εἰπὼν, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός· τὸν δ' ἐν καταχρήσει χωρὶς ἄρθρου, φάσκων, ὁ ὀφθεῖς σοὶ ἐν τόπῳ, οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον θεοῦ; and of Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* iii. ch. xii. (Migne viii. 1181), οὐ γὰρ θεὸν ἀπλῶς προσεῖπεν (Gen. iv. 25), ὁ τῇ τοῦ ἄρθρου προτάσει τὸν παντοκράτορα δηλώσας. Euseb. *de Eccles. Theologia* ii. ch. xvii. urges the same argument in opposition to the confusion of Marcellus. On Origen's position see Dorner *Hist. of the Development* &c. Div. I, Vol. ii. p. 118 (E. T.).

text, both in the Gospel and in the Epistle; also in Rom. i. 7 and Gal. i. 1. (2) In the preface to St John's Gospel the article has been already used with the word λόγος, and is therefore superfluous. (3) The expression πνεῦμα ὁ θεός must be compared. If the Arians insist on this argument in regard to the Son, to be consistent they must be prepared on the strength of the anarthrous πνεῦμα to surrender the truth of God's immaterial nature. (4) The words ὁ θεός are applied to the Son in Hebr. i. 8¹.

(2) *The Genitive.* The genitive plays an important part in some of St Paul's most suggestive phrases. Especially is this so in the Ephesian Epistle. A few instances of Chrysostom's treatment of this difficult case are worth considering.

Eph. i. 13. (a) 'The Word of the truth'; 'the truth' is here the correlative to the terms type and copy. (b) τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ.—Chrysostom seems to allow two interpretations; (1) 'We received the Spirit according to promise.' (2) 'Past gifts are a pledge of future gifts.' Hence the term ἀρραβών applied to the gift of the Spirit, a part of the whole. Of these interpretations Theodore adopts the latter, Theodoret the former. Chrysostom does not very sharply distinguish them.

Eph. i. 14. Chrysostom passes over the important phrase εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως. Theodore however writes, τὸ διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαλλαττομένων κακῶν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκείωσιν λαμβάνειν (see Severian in Dr Swete's note). Thus the genitive is not objective, but two separate though allied processes in God's work for man are shadowed forth; so Origen, ἵνα ἀπολυτρωθῶσιν, περιποιηθῶσι (Cramer vi. 121).

Eph. ii. 2. Chrysostom's punctuation has been already noticed. Joining τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ πνεύματος he makes the latter a genitive expressing quality, πνεύματα αἶρια².

Eph. ii. 14. τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας. Chrysostom, after rejecting the view which Theodore, Severian, and Theodoret hold, viz. that the separation is between man and man, offers two

¹ viii. 30, 42, x. 662, xi. 238, xii. 26. On Eph. i. 3 ὁ θεός καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, a question arises as to the vinculum of a common article. Chrysostom limits the reference of ὁ θεός to the Incarnate Christ; but he mentions the alternative of a slight break after θεός as possible. The latter is the view of Theodore (see Dr Swete's note) and Theodoret.

² It should be added to Dr Swete's note on Theodore *in loc.* that Chrysostom maintains in opposition to Theodore the present rule of the Devil:—ἐμοὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ...μὴ μεταπεπτωκέναι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν.

explanations of the genitive; (1) μεσότοιχον ἦν διαφράσσον (Is. lix. 2). (2) τὸ μεσότοιχον τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ φραγμοῦ. In this case ὁ φραγμός is the law (Is. v. 2, Rom. iv. 15). This latter is the view of Theodoret. It must again be noticed that Chrysostom does not formally distinguish the two interpretations, but while discussing the one glides into the other.

Eph. iv. 23. τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοὸς ἡμῶν. Chrysostom, understanding the Divine Spirit to be meant, explains the genitive—τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἐν τῷ νῷ. So apparently Theodore; Theodoret on the other hand, τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ νόου πνευματικὴν εἴρηκε. Origen (Cramer vi. 181) referring to 1 Cor. xiv. 15, speaks of the Spirit, ὅπερ, τοῦ νοὸς ἡμῶν ἀποκαθαυρόμενον καὶ πᾶσαν ἀποβαλόντος ἀχλύν, ὑψικωμώμενον αὐτῷ ἀναγεῖ ἡμᾶς.

Eph. iv. 24. ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ὁσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας. Chrysostom giving the genitive its proper force combines two interpretations. 'The truth' may be the opposite of what is (1) typical, or (2) false. Christians are thus contrasted both with Jews, and with Gentiles.

Col. i. 13. τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ. Chrysostom does not rise above the gloss ἀγαπήτος. Theodore has the remarkable comment οὐ φύσει τοῦ πατρὸς ὄντα υἱὸν ἀλλὰ ἀγάπῃ τῆς νουθεσίας ἀξιωθέντα. This—an anticipation of later Adoptianist views—must be taken in connexion with his theory of a Divine indwelling εὐδοκίᾳ (Swete ii. p. 294). Comp. Dr Swete's note on Theodore and Bp. Lightfoot *in loco*.

Col. ii. 16. μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς κρινέτω....ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς κ.τ.λ. Chrysostom, followed by Theodoret, takes the last words as disparaging the *partial* character of the would-be observance εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐσαββάτιζον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκριβῶς¹.

(3) *The Verbs.*

(a) *The Passive voice.* Chrysostom in several passages notices the use of the passive voice to present an action impersonally (ἀπροσώπως). Thus he explains, 'it was said to them of old time' (Matt. v. 21); 'your house is left unto you desolate' (Lk. xiii. 35, Chrys. viii. 312); 'that they might be taught not to blaspheme'; 'that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus' (1 Tim. i. 20, 1 Cor. v. 5)².

¹ On Phil. iii. 3, if Field's text is right, Chrysostom seems to adopt one reading and comment on the other. οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες, τούτῃστιν, οἱ πνευματικῶς λατρεύοντες.

² Theodore, Severian, and Theodoret point out the force of the middle ἐξαγοραζόμενοι (Eph. v. 15, Col. iv. 5); e.g. Theodore, qui aliquid emit ad suam utilitatem. See Dr Swete's note. It is possible that Chrysostom (xi. 134 c), τότε λέγομεν, ὅτι ἐξηγόρασεν ἑαυτόν, has the middle voice in his mind.

On Philem. 15 he points out the delicate tact of the phrase *ἐχωρίσθη* as contrasted with a possible *ἔφυγε* or *ἐχώρισεν αὐτόν*. Yet the most suggestive use of the passive—*εἰς δὲν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς* (Rom. vi. 17)—is not adequately treated in the comment—*τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείαν αἰνίττεται*¹.

(b) *The Tenses*. Chrysostom dwells on the force of the present tense in several important passages as denoting *continued* action. Thus on the words of the Baptist (John i. 29), he remarks, "He said not, which shall take or which did take (*ὁ ληψόμενος ἢ ὁ ἄρας*) but, which taketh away the sin of the world, meaning that He *ever* doeth so"*. Again, the Apostle speaks of a messenger of Satan given to him to buffet him. "The curb he needs," adds Chrysostom, "is a continuous (*διηνεκοῦς*) one; for he said not, *ἵνα κολαφίσῃ*, but, *ἵνα κολαφίζῃ*." Again, he finds a trace of St Paul's generous hopefulness in the *μετατίθεσθε* of Gal. i. 6. The Apostle does not use the aorist but the present:—"I do not believe that this treachery has yet been consummated." So the present participle *ἐντρεφόμενος* (1 Tim. iv. 6) emphasises the continued attention which Timothy must pay to 'the words of the faith.' The tentative force of the imperfect *ἐπόρθουν* (Gal. i. 13) is rightly noted. The persecutor endeavoured (*ἐπεχείρει*) to quench the Church. The 'man of sin' (2 Thess. ii. 4) can only *try* to set himself forth (*πειρώμενον ἀποδεικνύναι*) as God. A subtler nuance of the same tense is not unnoticed in Rom. ix. 3 *ἡ νόμιμος γὰρ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι κ.τ.λ.* The speaker in such cases gives expression to a desire which is at once checked by some higher consideration. This Chrysostom brings out in his gloss *εἶγε δυνατόν ἦν* (605 B), *εἶγε ἦν χωρισθῆναι...* (605 E). But at the same time he is fond of referring to the passage and intruding an Aorist *ἡῤῥατο* or even *εἶλετο* in the place of the imperfect. One other passage of theological importance

¹ Theodore (*προσηγάγομεν ὑμᾶς καὶ μονονοῦχι παρεδώκαμεν τῷ τύπῳ τῶν μελλόντων διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος*) supposes that the agency implied is that of the teachers. Comp. Cyril of Jerusalem *Catech.* iv. 3 *πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὴν πίστιν παραδόσεως*.

² See Origen's noble comment (Corderius *Cat.* p. 48) *καὶ ἡρεν καὶ αἶρει καὶ ἀρεῖ, καθ' ἕκαστον καιρὸν ἐφαρμοττομένου τοῦ αἶρειν*.

must be added. Chrysostom is discussing the words *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος*. "As the word *ᾧν*," such is his comment, 'applied to man simply denotes present time, but when used of God implies eternity; so the word *ἦν* when referring to our human nature signifies past time and that completed, but when it relates to God, it expresses eternity"¹.

The perfect is on more than one occasion not very accurately explained as implying the long duration of an act &c. in the past².

(4) *Conjunctions, particles, etc.*

εἰγε, εἴπερ "do not express doubt but are strong affirmations." (Note on Eph. iv. 21.) *εἴπερ δίκαιον* (2 Thess. i. 6) = *ὅτι σφόδρα δίκαιον*. Compare Chrysostom's notes on Rom. viii. 9 and Gal. iii. 4 (where, he remarks, a loophole of escape is left).

εἰπὼς (Phil. iii. 11) is explained as expressive of the Apostle's awe before the magnificence of his hope. The *ἐὰν ἄρα* of Ezek. ii. 5 (= *ὥς* Lk. xx. 13) marks at once the foreknowledge and the forbearance of God (vii. 670 D).

ὥς οὖν (Matt. i. 25). Chrysostom points out that the phrase is used in Scripture without implying the strict limitation of the period referred to, citing Gen. viii. 7, Ps. lxxi. 7, lxxxix. 2, and that the Evangelist simply asserts the virginity of the Saviour's Mother till His birth, without implying that the case was different afterwards³.

ἵνα. Chrysostom and Theodore earnestly contend for an ecbatic force in certain passages. Thus while himself maintaining that our Lord's words, 'that the works of God should be made manifest in him' (John ix. 3) imply no injustice on God's part, even when they are taken to express purpose, Chrysostom continues, "Some take this particle (*ἐπίρρημα*) not as stating the purpose but the result (*οὐδὲ αἰτιολογικόν... ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐκβάσεως*)." After citing as parallels John ix. 39, Rom. i. 20, v. 20, he adds, "Do you not see that *everywhere* this particle denotes the result?" The same explanation is given of *ἵνα* on John xi. 4 and more emphatically on

¹ viii. 19, cf. 13, 45, 324. Chrysostom in one place (Matt. i. 20) makes *παραλαβεῖν* = *ἐνδὸν κατέχειν*. He rivets this blunder upon himself by his strange account of a supposed Jewish custom that betrothed persons lived under the same roof (vii. 49 c, 57 A). On 2 Cor. ii. 3 he makes *ἐγραψα* (by a strange extension of the Epistolary Aorist?) refer to 2 Cor. xii. 21.

² xi. 312 A, 708 E. On Tit. ii. 12 Chrysostom seems to deny that *ἀρνησάμενοι* is contemporaneous with *ῥησώμεν*: *οὐκ εἶπεν, ἵνα ἀρνησώμεθα, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀρνησάμενοι*.

³ See the Catena of passages in Pearson *On the Creed* p. 269 n. 2 (Ed. Bohn).

John xvii. 12. So too Chrysostom with Theodoret urges on Rom. v. 20 (ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα) that "the law was given to lessen and to destroy the transgression, but the opposite result came to pass, not by reason of the nature of the law, but because of the indolence of those who received it." So lastly the Apostle, says Chrysostom, does not mean that divisions exist for the purpose of manifesting the good (1 Cor. xi. 19); but that the divisions had the result of making the good prominent, as the storm the helmsman. Quite similar is the treatment of εἰς τὸ with the infinitive in the important passages Romans i. 20, xi. 11¹.

It will be noticed that this habitual position towards a question of grammar is really connected closely with the genius of Antiochene theology. A large part of the doctrinal system of the teachers of this school might be formulated in these two propositions;—God is good; Man is free. On the one hand, evil is permitted, not caused, by God; on the other, man is left by God to choose the good or to choose the evil, as he will².

καὶ...δέ. This form of connexion is noticed in 1 Tim. iii. 10, where the καὶ is rightly said to draw a parallel between the proving of the Deacon and that of the Bishop.

μήποτε, μήπως. The former of these two words is said to be indicative of a mean between utter condemnation and complete confidence in 2 Cor. xi. 3, of great long-suffering in 2 Tim. ii. 25. The latter word is likewise explained as suggestive of fear and yet of hope in Gal. iv. 10:—"The shipwreck is not yet accomplished, but I see the storm travelling therewith."

ὅτι. In one passage the same difficulty arises as in the case of ἵνα. "For this cause they could not believe, for that (ὅτι) Isaiah said again..." (John xii. 39). Chrysostom boldly asserts that ὅτι εἶπεν points to a result and not to a reason. "They did not fail to believe because Isaiah spoke, but Isaiah spoke because they should not believe." The Evangelist uses this form of expression because he desires to mark the truthfulness of Scripture. The fulfilment exactly answers to the prediction. So οὐκ ἠδύναντο is explained to be equivalent to οὐκ ἤθελον.

¹ For Theodore (1) on ἵνα, see his notes on John x. 17, Rom. vii. 4, Gal. iii. 14, v. 17, &c.; (2) on εἰς τὸ... his notes on Rom. iv. 11, xi. 11. See Theodoret on Rom. v. 20, 1 Cor. xi. 19; sometimes he seems to accept but to tone down his predecessor's decisive dicta as on Rom. i. 20, iv. 11 (προειδὼς ὡς θεός), xi. 11 (ικανὸν δὲ τοῦτο...). Comp. Winer *Grammar* p. 572 sq. and Canon Evans' note (on 1 Cor. v. 2) on 'the subjective ecclastic' use. Comp. on ὅτι below.

² These questions will meet us again. At present it will be enough to refer to the treatment of Judas' Sin vii. 775 c, and to the following passages from the Commentaries on the Gospels, vii. 476 b, 555 e, 594 b, viii. 57 a, b, 107 d, 221 d, 269 e, 279 a, 480 d, 500 d. See Theodore's note on 2 Thess. ii. 12.

πάντως. The word is applied to matters, says Chrysostom, which are taken for granted. Thus his comment on 1 Cor. v. 10 favours the margin of the R.V., 'not at all meaning the fornicators &c.' In 1 Cor. ix. 10 the *πάντως* is said to shut the opponent's mouth; in 1 Cor. ix. 22 to reassure the doubter—a man so earnest as the Apostle *must* attain his end.

σχεδόν. In Heb. ix. 22 *σχεδόν*, according to Chrysostom, marks the limitation of the verb *καθαρίζεται*. "Herein there was no perfect purification or perfect remission." In vii. 9 *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν* has a like modifying influence.

ὡς. When St John speaks of a 'glory as of the only begotten from the Father,' the *ὡς* "does not denote comparison or likeness, but implies a strong assertion; as though the Evangelist had said, 'We beheld His glory, such glory as it was but meet and likely the Only-begotten and True Son of the Father would have.'" In Acts ii. 3 the same particle is said to guard against any material conception of the Spirit; in John vii. 10 and in 1 Cor. ix. 20 to denote an *οἰκονομία* on the part of Christ and of St Paul respectively.

(5) *Prepositions.*

διά. (1) With the genitive. The distinction between *διά* and *ὑπό* is clear. Thus on Matt. i. 22 Chrysostom well says, "The mouth was the mouth of Isaiah; but the oracle came from above." But at times the difference is more subtle and the commentator does not discriminate. Thus the Lord says, 'Woe to that man through whom (*δι' οὗ*) the occasion of stumbling cometh' (Matt. xviii. 7). The question of man's responsibility seemed involved, and Chrysostom makes the *διά* = *ὑπό*, adding that in such cases (Gen. iv. 1, xl. 8, 1 Cor. i. 9) Scripture uses the former preposition to denote the primary not the secondary cause¹.

In Theological passages *διά* is frequently used of the Divine Son. From this usage the Arians were not slow to draw inferences which it was of supreme importance for their opponents to controvert. Chrysostom's discussion of the question on John i. 3 (*πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο*) is typical. The preposition does not imply inferiority, he argues, for the following reasons; (1) Elsewhere Scripture assigns the same part in creation to the Son as to the Father (Ps. ci. 26 (Hebr. i. 10), Jer. v. 21). (2) The preposition simply implies that the Son is not ingenerate. (3) The preposition *ἐξ* is applied not only to the Father but to the Son (Col. ii. 19), and to the Spirit (Matt. i. 20). (4) The preposition *διά* is used by St Paul in speaking of the Father (1 Cor. i. 9, comp. on Eph. i. 1, Hebr. ii. 10)².

¹ Diodore on Rom. vii. 5 well contrasts with *τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου* an imaginary *τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου*.

² For a doctrinal exposition of *διά* see on Hebr. i. 8 (xii. 15 c) *ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐδένα κρινει, καὶ λέγεται κρινεω διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἣ κριτὴν ἐγέννησεν· οὕτω καὶ*

On Gal. i. 1 Chrysostom, like Theodore and Theodoret, notices that the single preposition *διὰ* is used of the Father and the Son¹.

(2) With the accusative. In John vi. 57 and Rom. viii. 11 (where Chrysostom reads the accusative), the preposition is rightly explained as denoting the cause. The paraphrase, "I endured a thousand deaths while preaching to you," shews that in Gal. iv. 13 the commentator makes *δι' ἀσθένειαν* equivalent to *δι' ἀσθενείας*.

εἰς. In one or two passages Chrysostom's explanation is noteworthy. Thus a subtler use is adequately treated in Col. i. 16 *τὰ πάντα . . . εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται· τουτέστιν, εἰς αὐτὸν κρέματα ἢ πάντων ὑπόστασις*. On the other hand a reference to union and brotherly love for Christ's sake (comp. *διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν* vii. 609 c) does not satisfy the phrase *εἰς τὸ ἑμὸν ὄνομα* (Matt. xviii. 20). The *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* of the Baptismal formula is likewise passed by unnoticed, though the note on 1 Cor. xii. 13 (*εἰς ἓν σῶμα*), if confused, is substantially correct (comp. Theodoret, *ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὥστε εἰς ἓν σῶμα τελεῖν*). Further, *εἰς* is said to be equivalent to (1) *διὰ*, with the accusative in Rom. viii. 21 (*διὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν*), with the genitive in Hebr. vi. 6 (*διὰ μετανοίας*, where *μετανοία* = *ὁ διὰ λουτροῦ πάλιν ἀνακαίνισμός*); (2) *ἐν* in John i. 18².

ἐν. In theological passages, as Chrysostom truly notes (viii. 38), this preposition is specially used of the work of the Holy Spirit. It is also used frequently of the Son. Hence he rightly marks it when used in connexion with the Father in 1 Thess. i. 1.

But with Chrysostom *ἐν* is a Proteus among prepositions.

ἐν = *ἀπό*. 2 Tim. i. 15. "It is likely that many were in Rome at this time *from* the regions of Asia." The converse is possible as in Hebr. xiii. 25, a passage which Chrysostom passes over without comment.

ἐν = *διὰ*. When *ἐν* is used of the Lord as in *ἐν Χριστῷ* this is the gloss in innumerable places (e.g. 1 Cor. i. 4, Eph. i. 3, 12, 13, 1 Tim. i. 4, 2 Tim. ii. 1, Hebr. i. 1). On Colossians i. 16 a bad reason is given for a bad gloss;—*ἐν* is equivalent to *διὰ* because *διὰ* is used in the context. So too when the connexion is different, e.g. in John xvii. 12 (*διὰ τῆς σῆς βοηθείας*), Eph. vi. 24 (*ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ* = *διὰ ἀφθαρσίας* = *δι' ἀρετῆς*).

In Eph. ii. 15 (comp. Col. ii. 14) *ἐν δόγμασι καταργήσας* is taken to mean that Christ destroys the Law by the Gospel,

δημιουργεῖν, ἣ δημιουργὸν ἐγέννησεν. See Theodore on John i. 3, Rom. i. 8 (Migne 66, 729, 788); Severian on 1 Cor. i. 9 (Cramer v. p. 13); Theodoret on 1 Cor. i. 1. The use of *διὰ Χριστοῦ* supplied a charge against Eusebius of Caesarea (Socr. H. E. ii. 21).

¹ So *ἀπό* Rom. i. 7 (cf. Thdt.).

² On Chrys. own loose use of *εἰς* see Field iii. p. 366, comp. Mullah *Grammatik* p. 380.

δόγματα being equivalent either to the Christian faith or to the commands of the Lord, e.g. in the Sermon on the Mount¹.

But sometimes Chrysostom rises above this. Thus on Acts xvii. 28 he says, οὐκ εἶπε δι' αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' ὁ ἐγγύτερον ἦν, ἐν αὐτῷ. The notes also on Rom. vi. 12, Gal. i. 16, Eph. ii. 15 (αὐτὸς πρῶτος τύπον παρασχών) are on a higher level.

ἐν = κατά. Phil. i. 8, Eph. vi. 1.

ἐν = παρά (with dative). Phil. iv. 9.

ἐν = σύν. Phil. iv. 4.

ἐν = ὑπέρ. Eph. vi. 12 ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις. The Christian's struggle is *for* his Heavenly inheritance. Chrysostom is followed here by Theodore and Theodoret. He also illustrates by a common phrase: ἡ συνθήκη ἐν τίνι κείται; ἐν χουσῷ.

Finally a curious explanation of 1 Cor. vi. 2 (ἐν ὑμῖν κρίνεται ὁ κόσμος) is to be noticed. The ἐν denotes the standard of judgment, and a parallel is found in Matt. xii. 41, 42 (comp. the interpretation of Matt. xix. 28 where κρίνοντες is made equivalent to κατακρίνοντες).

πρός. Chrysostom notices the remarkable use in John i. 1 (ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν), where he contrasts a possible ἐν. The phrase shews that the Son is not ἀγέννητος, and proves τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν αὐτοῦ αἰδιότητα.

ὑπέρ. This preposition is made equivalent to ἀντί in 2 Cor. v. 20, but not, I think, in any soteriological passage. On Rom. xiv. 15 Chrysostom gives the paraphrase ὁ μὲν Χριστός...οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν παρητήσατο δι' αὐτόν.

It remains to discuss a few passages where prepositions are contrasted.

Rom. iii. 30. ἐκ πίστεως...διὰ τῆς πίστεως. Chrysostom is silent. Theodore appears to be on the right track when he points out that the Jews would be likely to have *other starting points* (καὶ ἑτέρας ἀφορμὰς) towards justification, in which benefit however they could not share except ἐκ τῆς πίστεως. Origen (Cramer iv. p. 25) compares 1 Cor. xi. 12.

Rom. xi. 36. ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν τὰ πάντα. Chrysostom explains the three prepositions as pointing respectively to the initiation, the formation, the co-haesion of the Universe, αὐτὸς εἶπεν, αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν, αὐτὸς συγκροτεῖ. Theodoret refers the first clause to the creation, the second to God's continued governance, the third to the duty of all men to fix their gaze on God.

1 Cor. viii. 6. Chrysostom takes ἐξ οὗ and δι' οὗ to refer to the work of the Father and the Son respectively in creation. But we may be said to be 'of God' (ἐξ αὐτοῦ) in a double sense:

¹ The Antiochenes give substantially the same interpretation of both passages: see Dr Swete's note on Th. (Eph. ii. 15) and Bp. Lightfoot on Col. ii. 14.

in creation and in redemption. Hence *εἰς αὐτόν* is added in reference to the divine appropriation (*τῆς οἰκειώσεως*) of the faithful; and to this answers the *ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ* in regard to the Son. (On the use Aetius made of this passage see Basil, ap. Cramer vii. p. 397, comp. Thdt.)

Gal. i. 1. *οὐκ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου*. Chrysostom reads *ἀνθρώπων* in both clauses. In the latter clause, which is an advance on the first, St Paul claims his place among the true Apostles whom Christ "called not through men but by His own agency." Theodore refuses to draw any such distinction (*ipsa multitudo narrationis*), fearing perhaps a hint of Apollinarian doctrine (see Dr Swete's note).

Eph. iv. 6. *ἐπὶ πάντων* is interpreted as referring to God's sovereign exaltation; *διὰ πάντων*, to His providential ordering of all; *ἐν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν* (sic), to His indwelling. So Theodore and Theodoret. (On Theodore's doctrine of *ἐνοίκησης* see Dr Swete i. p. 142, ii. 294.)

Heb. ii. 10. *δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα*. The first clause Chrysostom takes as pointing to God's lovingkindness, the second to His relation to the world as Creator. Theodore supposes the Divine word to be referred to and finds here, as just before in the reading *χωρὶς θεοῦ*, a confirmation of his Christological views. His exposition of the passage is thus epitomized by Theodoret; *τὸν θεὸν λόγον ἔδειξεν ἣν ἀνέλαβε τελειώσαντα φύσιν, ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας ἣ ληφθεῖσα φύσις*.

Lastly Chrysostom not unfrequently notices the force of prepositions in composition.

ἀνά. In Gal. vi. 2 the commentator notes that St Paul does not use the simple but the compound word, meaning *κοινῇ πάντες πληρώσατε, δι' ὧν ἀλλήλους φέρετε*. Lower down he speaks of 'each man through his patience filling up (*ἀναπληρῶν*) that which is lacking to his neighbour.' The exposition is confused.

ἀπό. This preposition "has in many places an intensive force in St Paul's writings as in the words *ἀποστυγεῖν, ἀποκαρδοκία*¹, *ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, ἀπολύτρωσις*" (ix. 674 B, cf. ix. 485 c). So the compounds *ἀπαρνησάσθω* (Matt. xvi. 24), *ἀποκεκρυμμένον* (Col. i. 26) are explained.

The force of *ἀπό* with words of giving and receiving is clearly brought out. Thus *ἀποδώσει* (Matt. vi. 6) and *ἀπολάβωμεν* (Gal. iv. 5) represent God as having made Himself man's debtor. A similar explanation is wrongly given of *ἀπέχω* in Phil. iv. 18 and probably also in Matt. vi. 5 where the gloss, *λήψονται μὲν, παρ' ὧν δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν αὐτοῦ*, is not quite clear.

The important word *ἀποκαταλλάσσω* is dealt with inconsistently. In Col. i. 20, 21 the word is said to mean *perfect* reconciliation,

¹ Theodore strangely explains *ἀποκαρδοκεῖν* on Rom. viii. 19:—*καρδοκεῖν λέγεται τὸ ἐλπίζειν· ἀποκαρδοκεῖν τὸ ἀπελπίζειν*. So also on Phil. i. 20.

the *ἀπό* being intensive. In Eph. ii. 16 Chrysostom catches the deep meaning of the word; οὐκ εἶπε καταλλάξῃ, ἀλλ', ἀποκαταλλάξῃ, δεικνὺς ὅτι πρὸ τούτου ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις εὐκατάλλακτος ἦν, ὅλον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγίων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ νόμου.

ἐκ. The compound ἐκκαθαίρειν (1 Cor. v. 7, 2 Tim. ii. 21) is rightly said to imply the completeness of the cleansing.

ἐπί. This preposition in compound words implies addition. Thus the gloss on ἐπιχορηγία (Phil. i. 19) is, ἐὰν πλέον ἐπιδοθῇ τὸ πνεῦμα. The compound ἐποικοδομῆσαι (Acts xx. 32) suggests the idea of a previous building (ἡδὴ ᾠκοδομήθησαν). Somewhat curiously in Rom. xv. 15 Chrysostom seems to suppose that the apologetic tone of ἀπὸ μέρους (= ἡρέμα) is continued in ἐπαναμνησκων (= μικρόν τι ἀναμνησκων).

κατά. The force of κατεργάζεσθαι is more than once pointed out;—μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σπουδῆς, μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐπιμελείας (Rom. i. 27, Phil. ii. 12. Comp. Severian ap. Cramer iv. p. 10, 11).

Two subjects remain, both closely connected with pure exegesis, which may yet best find a place under the general head of scholarship: the treatment of (1) etymologies; (2) synonyms.

Etymologies. The following list is probably far from complete, but it will serve to illustrate from the works of a single writer the way in which ancient Theology reckoned ancient Philology as her handmaid.

ᾄδης. Chrysostom (Frag. on Prov. v. 5) says; ᾄδης δὲ λέγεται παρὰ τὸ ἰδεῖν ἀηδὺς τὰ ἐκείσε ἅπαντα κολαστήρια τοὺς καταβαίνοντας. It will be noted that the Article as to 'the Descent into Hell' is peculiar to Western Creeds. If it has a place in the 'Dated Creed' of Sirmium and afterwards in the Creeds of Nicé and Constantinople (Hahn *Biblio. der Symbole* § 93, 94, 96), this was perhaps due to Western influence. Yet see Chrys. x. 379 c.

[ἀκόλαστος. "Men are called ἀκόλαστοι because they do not check (κολάζειν) their lust" (xi. 585 A). There are many kinds of lust, Chrysostom urges, and he would apply the term to the passionate, the envious, the avaricious, the insincere. Closely allied are the words ἀσεμνος, ἀσελγής. The word itself does not occur in the New Testament; compare however Prov. xix. 29, xx. 1, xxi. 11. Aristotle distinguishes the ἀκόλαστος from the ἀκρατής (2 Tim. iii. 3, 1 Cor. vii. 5) in that the former is ἀνίαςτος, the latter not so (*Eth. Nic.* vii. 9).]

ἀπόστολος. The derivation points to the deep truth that the Apostle does not speak his own words, ἀποστόλου γὰρ ἀξίωμα μηδὲν οἰκοθεν ἐπισφύρειν (vi. 4).

ἄλαφος. Perhaps one of the most wonderful feats in etymology is that which Chrysostom records in connexion with this word.

παρὰ τοῦτό φασιν αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι ἑλαφον διὰ τὸ ὄφεις ἐσθίειν (xi. 747 Δ). This popular derivation together with a popular notion on which it was founded suggests to him an allegorical interpretation of Psalm xli. 1, 'As the hart panteth after the water-brooks.' "The hart is a thirsty animal," the commentator tells us, "and therefore it ever runneth after the fountains of waters. And it is thirsty both by nature and because it devours serpents. Do thou therefore follow this example. Do thou devour the spiritual serpent, and thou shalt be able to be athirst with a longing for God" (v. 138). Comp. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* viii. 32.

εὐτραπελία (Eph. v. 4). Chrysostom alludes to the obvious derivation; ταχέως τρέπεται ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ μεθίσταται. This ἀχαρις χάρις, to use his own phrase, has two chief characteristics. It is ill-natured (comp. Theodore's comment) and it is low. ἀνάγκη τὸν εὐτραπελεύμενον ἔχθρας ἀναδέχεσθαι περιττὰς τῶν εἰκῇ σκωπτομένων, ἂν τε παρῶσιν, ἂν τε ἀπόντες ἀκούσωσιν. εἰ καλὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα, τί τοῖς μίμοις ἀφίεται;... πόρρω ψυχῆς ἐλευθέρας, πόρρω εὐγενούς, καὶ δούλων πόρρω. To so low a depth in Chrysostom's view has this word fallen, once lofty in its associations. Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* ii. 7) makes εὐτραπελία the mean between βωμολοχία and ἀγροικία; elsewhere (iv. 14) he notices the etymology; οἱ δ' ἐμμελῶς παίζοντες εὐτράπελοι προσαγορεύονται ὡς εὐτροποι. Archbp. Trench in his very interesting discussion of the word leaves the impression that Chrysostom rates the word higher than he really does (*New Test. Synonyms* § xxxiv.).

καταβολή (Eph. i. 4). The commentator notes the word as appropriate. "It is as though the Apostle meant that the world had been cast down from some vast height. For in truth the height of God is vast and ineffable not in space but in the remoteness of His nature."

κοιμητήριον. In a sermon preached on the Eve of Easter (σήμερον Ἰησοῦς πρὸς τοὺς νεκροὺς κατέβη) in a martyrdom without the walls, "where there lay a great company of the dead," Chrysostom draws comfort for his hearers from this word in common use. "Learn that those who passed away and lie here are not dead, but do sleep and take their rest" (ii. 398 Δ). Chrysostom strikingly notices that St Paul (1 Thess. iv. 14) speaks of Christ's death but of the Christian's sleep. "With Him whose Resurrection is an assured fact the Apostle speaks of death. Our Resurrection is a thing yet hoped for; hence the very word he uses shall bring comfort" (i. 763 D).

μεριμνᾶν (Matt. vi. 34). "Wherefore I bid thee," so Chrysostom paraphrases our Lord's words, "to refrain from seeking, not that thou shouldest receive nothing, but that thou shouldest receive abundance...lest being anxious and cleft asunder in thy care for these things (ἵνα μὴ μεριμνῶν μηδὲ σχιζόμενος εἰς τὴν τούτων φροντίδα), thou shouldest make thyself unworthy alike of worldly and of spiritual benefits." There appears here to be a distinct

allusion to the old derivation of *μέριμνα* from *μερίζω*. The line of Terence is often quoted in illustration: Tot me impediunt curae, quae meum animum divorce (*v. l. divorsae*) trahunt (*Andr. i. 5, 25*). Modern philological research connects the word with a Sanskrit root *Smar*, whence Lat. *memor* &c.

παροιμία. Of this compound word Chrysostom mentions two derivations. Some would explain the word as denoting "a *ῥῆμα παρόδιον*, transferred from one particular thing to another." Others, apparently Chrysostom among them, offer a different solution. "The name *παροιμία* is given, because such sayings were inscribed by every roadside, for the correction and instruction of those travelling by the ways" (vi. 375).

πονηρός. "Wickedness (*πονηρία*) is so called because it always brings troubles (*πόνους*). Wherefore a certain wise man saith, If thou art evil (*κακός*), alone shalt thou endure evil things; but if thou art good, thou shalt have good things both for thyself and for those with thee" (*Prov. ix. 12, LXX.* quoted inexactly: v. 419).

Σαῦλος. Some, Chrysostom tells us, held that *ἡνίκα...τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐσάλευε Σαῦλος ἐλέγετο, ...πάλιν Παῦλος ἀπὸ τοῦ παύσασθαι μετωνομάσθη*. "But this account is foolish and false, and I have only mentioned it lest you should be led away by silly explanations" (*ταῖς ψιλαῖς αἰτιολογίαις*. iii. 110 D).

σημεῖον. Chrysostom is commenting on the sign given to Ahaz (*Isaiah vii. 14*). Had the conception spoken of belonged to the common order, there could have been no sign. "A sign," he says, "must overpass the common wont of nature; it must be strange and wonderful; so that every one who sees it or hears it notes it. For for this cause is it called a sign (*σημεῖον*) because it is noteworthy (*διὰ τὸ ἐπίσημον*)."

σωφροσύνη. Aristotle insisted on the etymology of the word. "We give it this name, ὡς σώζουσιν τὴν φρόνησιν" (*Eth. Nic. vi. 5*). Chrysostom echoes this (*ἀπὸ τοῦ σώας ἔχειν τὰς φρένας*, ix. 660 E). Elsewhere (xi. 750 C, comp. 661 E) he uses the Platonic phrase (*τῇ τῶν φρενῶν σωτηρία*, comp. *σωτηρία φρονήσεως* *Plato Crat. 411*).

ταπεινοφροσύνη. This, in Chrysostom's opinion the cause, the very mother, of all virtues, stands at the opposite moral pole to selfishness (*φιλαντία*) "the mother," as he somewhere calls it, "of all heresies," and "to arrogance (*ἀπόνοια*) the very citadel of evil" (vii. 186, viii. 414, ix. 660 D, xi. 229 E). Its essence lies in its voluntariness. And this thought is stamped upon the word. *ταπεινοφροσύνη διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται, ὅτι τοῦ φρονήματός ἐστι ταπείνωσις* (xi. 236 E).

χρήματα. The derivation is plain. *καὶ γὰρ χρήματα διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται, οὐχ ἵνα κατορύξωμεν ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰς δέον αὐτοῖς χρῆσώμεθα* (vii. 508 E, comp. xi. 279 C with Field's note). Elsewhere a different lesson is drawn: *χρήματα λέγεται παρὰ τὸ κεχρηῆσθαι, οὐ παρὰ τὸ κυρίους εἶναι*. Here the transitoriness—*vitaque mancipio nulli datur*,

omnibus usui—as there the responsibility of riches, is the preacher's theme. The idea finds expression in a rhyming sentence: *οὐκ ἔστι κτῆσις τοῦτο, χρήσις ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν κυρία* (xi. 608).

ψυχή. Chrysostom follows a playful, yet a more than half pathetic, suggestion of Plato (*Crat.* 399). The word *ψυχή* comes from the verb *ψύχειν* (xii. 17 c). For the soul is the element in man which revives and refreshes; and when it fails, man dies.

Synonyms. In an interesting passage (xii. 17, comp. Plato *Cratylus* ad fin.) Chrysostom draws a distinction between ideas and words. We form conceptions, which we in vain endeavour to express. The names which we give to persons or things do not bring out their essential nature. Words are half-veiled thoughts. But out of its failure language rises to its highest triumph. One word cannot express the reality of a conception; but different words can shadow forth different views of the truth, each word endowed with its living power of delicate sympathy. It is in dealing with these subtle yet very real distinctions that the scholar shews most clearly his insight into a language. And Chrysostom, I think, has no need to shrink from the test. His treatment of New Testament synonyms is not the least instructive part of his work as commentator.

ἅγιος, ἄμωμος (Eph. i. 4). "The former is he who is a partaker of the faith, the latter he whose life is blameless."

ἄγνός, σεμνός (Phil. iv. 8). "The former character belongs to the soul, the latter has to do with a man's influence on others." Theodore comparing 2 Cor. vii. 11 takes *ἄγνός* to denote the man who abstains from complicity in evil actions.

ἀπρόσκοπος, εὐλκρινής (Phil. i. 10). "That ye may be *εὐλκρινεῖς* towards God; *ἀπρόσκοποι* towards men. For friendships often do hurt to men. *Θοῦ* sufferest no hurt, yet haply thy neighbour stumbleth." So Chrysostom explains the Apostle's prayer. Just above he paraphrases somewhat differently:—"Under the plea of charity receive not ye any corrupt doctrine."

ἀσέβεια, κοσμικαὶ ἐπιθυμίαι (Tit. ii. 12). Here too the former is explained as referring to bad doctrine, the second to bad living. The same distinction is drawn between *ἀσέβεια* and *ἀδικία* in Rom. i. 18, though here Chrysostom adds that, since some interpret *ἀδικία* of doctrine, it may perhaps refer to error of doctrine and of life.

διάκονος, εὐαγγελιστής (x. 68 B), *λειτουργός*. The second office is confined to teaching; the first includes a ministry of gracious acts.

On 1 Cor. xii. 4—6 Chrysostom refuses to draw any distinction between *χαρίσματα*, *ἐνεργήματα*, and *διακονία*. "The things are the same; there is but a difference of name." Again on Hebr. i. 14 *λειτουργία* and *διακονία* are confused. "What wonder if angels minister (*λειτουργοῦσιν*) to the Son, when they minister (*λειτουργῶσιν*) for our salvation?" But in a fine sentence lower down the difference is implicitly recognised:—*τοῦτο ἀγγέλων λειτουργία, τὸ διακονεῖν τῷ θεῷ εἰς σωτηρίαν ἡμετέραν*. The Fragment of Theodore recognises, but does not fully express, the distinction. He apparently explains *λειτουργικά* by the *προσκυνήσάτωσαν* of i. 6 (*ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης μαρτυρίας*) and adds that "Angels do all things as those who do service for our salvation."

διδάσκειν, προφητεῦεν (1 Cor. xii. 28). "He that prophesies uttereth all things of the Spirit, but he that teacheth at times speaketh of his own mind."

δόγμα, ἐντολή (Eph. ii. 15, comp. Col. ii. 14). "There is a wide difference," Chrysostom says, "between *ἐντολή* and *δόγματα*." God abolished the commandment, i.e. the Law, *by the Gospel* (*ἐν δόγμασιν*); and this last expression may be more exactly defined as referring either to faith (Rom. x. 6—8), or to Christ's commands as e.g. Matt. v. 22. Comp. p. 101.

δύναμις, κράτος (Col. i. 11). *οὐκ εἶπε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ, κράτος, ὅπερ μείζον ἐστι*. This brief sentence may be taken as a type of numberless passages in which Chrysostom, substituting for a moment a word of his own, brings out by the force of contrast the richness and vigour of the original.

Ἑβραῖος, ἐκ γένους Ἰσραήλ, Ἰσραηλῆτης (2 Cor. xi. 22, Phil. iii. 5). In the first of these two passages Chrysostom rightly recognises the climax of the words, 'Are they Hebrews? Are they Israelites? Are they the seed of Abraham?'; but he is obscure in details. On the second passage he gives the true explanation of *Ἑβραῖος*. "It was possible to belong to Israel and not to be a Hebrew of the Hebrews. For many had ere now corrupted their nationality, and were uninstructed in the Hebrew tongue." Thus *Ἑβραῖοι* stand over against *Ἑλληνισταί*, whom elsewhere (ix. 169 D) he opposes to *οἱ βαθεῖς Ἑβραῖοι*. (The explanation of Theodore and Theodoret which lays stress on the *antiquity* of the name is probably alluded to by Chrysostom in his alternative interpretation:—*ἢ τὴν πολλὴν εὐγένειαν δείκνυσιν*).

εἰκών, χαρακτήρ, σκιά (Hebr. i. 3, x. 1). *χαρακτήρ* like *μορφή* is a word reaching deeper than *εἰκών*. The latter expresses likeness in position. Thus man is spoken of as the image of God, because he is on Earth what God is in Heaven. The former denotes essential likeness (*ὁμοιότητα τὴν κατ' οὐσίαν*). As to the second pair of synonyms, *σκιά* is the rough sketch, the outline traced by the artist's pencil; it is transfigured into an *εἰκών* when the colours being added have imparted a semblance of life. (Comp. p. 41 note.)

ἐκφέρειν, τίκειν (Hebr. vi. 7, 8). The writer "did not say τίκτουσα ἀκάνθας, he did not use so excellent a word, but, ἐκφέρουσα ἀκάνθας, as though one were to use the phrase, throwing, casting forth (ἐκβράσσουσα, ἐκβάλλουσα)."

ἐπιθυμία, εὐδοκία, θέλημα. εὐδοκία (which Origen on Eph. i. 5 (ap. Cramer's Cat.) notes as no classical word, but an invention of the LXX) differs from θέλημα in that it expresses (1) the primary will (τὸ θέλημα τὸ προηγούμενον): thus the primary will of God is that those who have sinned perish not; the secondary that those who have become evil perish; (2) an earnest and intense desire (τὸ σφοδρὸν θέλημα, τὸ μετὰ ἐπιθυμίας θέλημα). Comp. notes on Rom. x. 1, Hebr. x. 8. In Hebr. vi. 11, 'We desire (ἐπιθυμοῦμεν) that each one of you may shew the same diligence,' Chrysostom substitutes for a moment a possible θέλω. But the loss is at once apparent. θέλω would insist on the authority of the teacher; ἐπιθυμοῦμεν reveals the affection of a father. Chrysostom's comment on Phil. ii. 13 (ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας) slides from the meaning 'love' into the meaning 'will'. In 2 Thess. i. 11 Chrysostom omitting ἀγαθωσύνης (unlike the kindred χρηστότης never used of God) and neglecting the parallelism of the clause ἔργον πίστεως, explains πᾶσαν εὐδοκίαν of God's will (ἵνα τὸ πείσμα (comp. xi. 5 D) τοῦ θεοῦ γένηται... ἵνα ὡς βούλεται οὕτως ᾗτε). But he is not quite clear. Theodore (implens vos omni bono) and Theodoret neglect εὐδοκίαν.

κατατομή, περιτομή (Phil. iii. 2). To the circumcision of the Judaisers St Paul will not allow even the name. The very phrase he uses shall express its degradation. "Such περιτομή is nothing more than κατατομή, that is, a mere hacking of the flesh (for the word is used in reference to those who cut at random and without skill); or the term is employed because such men try to cut the Church asunder (διατέμνουν)." Of Chrysostom's two explanations, the second is accepted by Theodoret; the former is that given by Theodore.

κλήρος, μερίς (Col. i. 12). Chrysostom draws a distinction between the two words, in that the latter individualizes. "The portion is that which each man receives. Men may be in the same city and not enjoy the same privileges; this cannot be if they possess the same portion (τὴν αὐτὴν μερίδα). It is possible for men to be in the same lot (ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κλήρῳ) and not have the same portion. We all, for instance, are ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, yet we do not all have the same portion. Here however the Apostle speaks of the lot and the portion together." Chrysostom finds a further thought in the word κλήρος. It excludes the idea of successful effort. "No one so lives as to deserve the kingdom; it altogether cometh of God's gift."

κοινωνία, μετοχή (1 Cor. x. 16). "Why," Chrysostom asks, "did not the Apostle use the word μετοχή? It is because he wished to point out the completeness of the union. οὐ γὰρ τῷ μετέχειν μόνον καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἐνοῦσθαι κοινῶ-

νοῦμεν." In other words *κοινωνία* emphasises the idea of personal fellowship, comp. Prov. i. 11, 18, 2 Cor. vi. 14, Hebr. ii. 14.

κολάζειν, παιδεύειν, τιμωρεῖν (1 Cor. xi. 32). "The Apostle did not say, *κολαζόμεθα* (2 Pet. ii. 9, Matt. xxv. 46, 1 John iv. 18), nor *τιμωρούμεθα* (Hebr. x. 29), but *παιδενόμεθα*. For the purpose is to admonish, not to condemn, to heal, not to requite (*τιμωρίας*), to correct, not to punish (*διορθώσεως ἢ κολάσεως*)." Comp. 2 Cor. vi. 9, 1 Tim. i. 20, Hebr. xii. 6—10, Apoc. iii. 19.

μακροθυμία, ὑπομονή, χρηστεύεσθαι. Quoting Prov. xiv. 29 (*μακρόθυμος ἀνὴρ πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει, ὁ δὲ ὀλιγόψυχος ἰσχυρῶς ἄφρων*), Chrysostom calls *μακροθυμία* 'the root of all true philosophy' (x. 299 c). On Col. i. 11 he writes, "Unto all patience and longsuffering; longsuffering towards each other, patience towards those that are without. For a man is longsuffering towards those from whom he can, patient towards those from whom he cannot, defend himself. For this reason patience is never spoken of as belonging to God, but longsuffering often." He brings out another side of the distinction when on 2 Tim. iii. 10, 11 he says, "Longsuffering is felt towards heretics; patience in regard to persecutions." (Theodoret here makes longsuffering to be 'the bearing the errors of the brethren.')

μορφή, σχῆμα. These two important words occur side by side several times in the Pauline Epistles, either themselves or in their derivatives. Chrysostom brings out the distinction between them very clearly in his comments on Rom. xii. 2 (comp. Theodoret's note). Comparing 1 Cor. vii. 31 he notes that while *τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ* implies perishableness, the derivative of *σχῆμα* adds the thought of unreality (*τὸ ἀνυπόστατον*). "Wealth, glory &c., these are simply a fashion (*σχῆμα*), not an actual verity, a show and mask, not an abiding reality.... That which belongs to the world is a fashion. That which pertains to virtue is not so but a true essence (*μορφή*) with a natural (*φυσικόν*) beauty of its own, a beauty which needs no external adjuncts and embellishments (*ἐπιτριμμάτων τε καὶ σχημάτων*).... If therefore thou wilt throw aside the fashion (*σχῆμα*), thou shalt soon reach the essence (*μορφήν*)." The distinction is of supreme importance in the Christological passage Phil. ii. 5 sq. The whole passage will be discussed presently. For the present it must be enough to quote Chrysostom's words (xi. 238, 246). "The form *qua* form points to unchangeableness (*τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον*). A being of one essence (*οὐσίας*) cannot have the form which belongs to another essence. A man cannot have the form of an angel, nor an irrational animal that of a man.... In regard to us men, seeing that we are composed of divers elements (*σύνθετοι*), the form pertains to the body; in regard to Him who is (in nature) simple and without diversity of elements, it pertains to the essence." Chrysostom will not allow that Christ's act at the Last Supper (Jn. xiii. 4 sq.) explains the phrase 'He took the form of a servant.' This, he

says, is simply to confuse form and work, nature and activity. On the other hand σχῆμα stands at the opposite pole to φύσις. It may be added that Theodore and Theodoret (on v. 11) substantially agree with Chrysostom, the former making φύσις, the latter οὐσία or φύσις, the strict equivalent of μορφή. Elsewhere (on Hebr. i. 3) Chrysostom treats μορφή and χαρακτήρ as practically identical in meaning. Chrysostom's notes on 2 Cor. xi. 13 (comp. Thdt.) and on 2 Tim. iii. 5 are worth consulting. He contrasts this last passage (ἔχοντες μόρφωσιν εὐσεβείας) with Rom. ii. 20 (ἔχοντα τὴν μόρφωσιν τῆς γνώσεως). In the latter case according to him (comp. frag. of Theodore μόρφωσιν λέγει οὐ τὴν προτύπωσιν ἀλλ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπόστασιν) μόρφωσις implies approbation, being equivalent to ἀρχέτυπον; in the former it is a term of disparagement not to be distinguished from σχῆμα. One brief sentence from his exposition deserves quotation, σχῆμά ἐστι μόνον χωρὶς δυνάμεως πίστις χωρὶς έργων.

ξενοδοχία, φιλοξενία (Hebr. xiii. 1, comp. 1 Tim. v. 10). Chrysostom notes that the writer enjoins the latter upon his friends, as a higher duty than the former. They must shew their love for the strangers whom they entertain (xii. 305 B).

ὁμοθυμαδόν, ὁμοῦ (Acts ii. 46). Chrysostom distinguishes the words in that the latter could, the former could not, be applied to a company of men divided in opinion. Comp. Rom. xv. 6.

οἰκητήριον, σκήνος (2 Cor. v. 1, 2). Chrysostom identifies σκήνος with σκηνή in meaning; and finds the reason for the Apostle's introduction of a fresh word in the fact that while the σκηνή is readily taken down, the οἰκητήριον remains continually. Mr Field, it may be added, notes that "the depreciatory term σκήνος for the human body is borrowed from the Pythagorean philosophy," and gives several examples of this use (*Otium Norvicense, Pars Tertia* p. 113). Another good instance is Origen in *Joan.*, Tom. vi. § 25 ἦντινα κατάβασιν αἰνίσσεσθαί τινες ὑπειλήφασιν τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν κάθοδον ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα, θυγατέρας ἀνθρώπων τροπικώτερον τὸ γῆινον σκήνος λέγεσθαι ὑπειληφότες.

[παραβαίνειν, ὑπερβαίνειν (x. 718 c). "He who commits fornication," Chrysostom remarks, "and he who practises virginity alike overstep the boundaries of the law, but in different ways...ὁ μὲν παραβάς, ὁ δὲ ὑπερβάς τὸν νόμον." So, speaking of the Lord's miracles on the Sabbath, Chrysostom says (viii. 214), ποιεῖ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ παραβαίνων, ἀλλ' ὑπερβαίνων τὸν νόμον. Comp. Matt. xv. 2, 3 (παραβαίνειν), 1 Thess. iv. 6 (ὑπερβαίνειν in a different sense). προάγειν (2 Jn. 9) belongs to the same group.]

πνεῦμα, ψυχή. Deeper questions are at once raised than properly belong to a discussion of synonyms. It may however be well briefly to deal with the answer which the Antiochenes gave to one great problem of psychology. There are then several passages in which Chrysostom expressly asserts that man consists of body and soul, rejecting the theory of a trichotomy which

found favour among the Alexandrian teachers. Thus Chrysostom deduces from Rom. vii. 18 sq. the conclusion that St Paul divides man into the two parts, soul (*ψυχή*) and body, of which the former is the active, the latter the passive element¹. Foerster (p. 58) rightly points out that in one passage (xi. 37 B) where Chrysostom speaks of the spirit leaving the soul and the body, the reference is really to the Divine Spirit. There are two passages in the New Testament where the spirit of man is spoken of over and above the soul. In the first of these, 'may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire' (1 Thess. v. 23), Chrysostom and with him Theodore and Theodoret (see Dr Swete's note on Th.'s commentary *in loc.*) explain τὸ πνεῦμα as equivalent to τὸ χάρισμα. As to the second passage, 'even to the dividing of soul and spirit' (Hebr. iv. 12), Chrysostom gives a choice of interpretations. The writer either means that the Word of God "divides the spirit [which Chrysostom does not further define] from the soul or that it reaches to what is incorporeal, and not as an actual sword only to the body." An examination of a large number of passages where the *spirit* of man is spoken of shews that the Antiochenes had three explanations whereby they escaped the plain meaning of the words—(1) τὸ πνεῦμα = ἡ ψυχή (ἡ καρδιά). Chrysostom (xii. 17 c) makes *ψυχή*, *καρδιά*, *νοῦς*, *πνεῦμα* all strictly synonymous terms. Thus he explains Matt. vi. 3, Rom. ii. 29 (Th. τῇ προθέσει, comp. Num. xiv. 23, 24, Hos. iv. 12), 1 Cor. v. 5 (cf. Job i. 12, see below (2)), 2 Cor. vii. 1 (probably, so Thdt. expressly), Gal. v. 17. (2) τὸ πνεῦμα = τὸ χάρισμα (or some synonymous term). Thus he explains Rom. i. 9 (so Th. Thdt.; see below (3)), viii. 10, 16 (τῷ πν. ἡμῶν, so Diodore, Thdt. comp. viii. 26 τὸ πνεῦμα συναντιλαμβάνεται κ.τ.λ. so Diod. Th. Thdt.), 1 Cor. v. 3 (so Thdt.), v. 5 (so Thdt.), xiv. 14, 15 (so Thdt.), xiv. 32 (so Thdt.), Gal. vi. 18 (so Thdt. here and v. 17), Phil. i. 27, 1 Thess. v. 23, Hebr. xii. 9 (so Thdt.; Chrys. gives as alternatives αἱ εὐχαί or αἱ ἀσώματοι δυνάμεις). (3) τὸ πνεῦμα = ἡ πνευματικὴ διάνοια (or equivalent phrase). Thus he explains Rom. i. 9 (see above (2)), viii. 6, [viii. 10 Thdt. cf. Diod. on viii. 16], viii. 27. In 2 Cor. vii. 13, Phil. iii. 3 and Eph. iv. 23 other evasive interpretations are given. Theodore further characteristically interprets the spirit as the man's hope and pledge of a Resurrection in Rom. viii. 2, 1 Cor. v. 5, Gal. iii. 2, v. 18 (see Dr Swete's note on the last two passages). Beyond the general desire for simplicity of conception which characterised the Antiochenes and

¹ Comp. x. 112 B, xi. 247 E ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα ἐσμεν· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ θεὸς καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα: also Diod. on Gen. ii. 7, ζῶον λογικόν, ἐκ τε θνητοῦ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανάτου συνεστός: Cyril 1st Letter to Nestorius § 8 ἄνθρωπος ἐκ ψυχῆς νοεῖται καὶ σώματος and *Quicumque Vult Anima rationalis et caro unus est homo*. The name of Melito's treatise, probably the earliest Christian work on the subject, is *περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἢ νοός* Eus. H. E. iv. 26, 2.

their aversion to Platonic views¹—the reason for this elaborate evasion of obvious conclusions may be found partly in their exegetical, partly in their theological, position. Exegetically they were opposed to the theory of a manifold sense of Scripture, which Origen had connected with that view of man's nature which they denied (Huet *Origeniana* ii. 13. 2). Theologically they were the most earnest opponents of Apollinaris, whose whole system of Christology was based on the assumption that man's being included a πνεῦμα as well as a ψυχή. Doubtless their loss in completeness and depth of view was great. They gained simplicity of statement. They surrendered, or at best obscured, the belief that there is an element in man which,

tending up,
Holds, is upheld by, God, and ends the man
Upward in that dread point of intercourse,
Nor needs a place, for it returns to Him.

[προσαγωγή, πρόσσδος (Eph. ii. 18, comp. Rom. v. 2, Eph. iii. 12). "The Apostle did not say ἔχομεν τὴν πρόσσδον but τὴν προσαγωγήν. For we did not approach God of ourselves, but were brought thither by Him." πρόσσδος does not occur in the N. T., but compare προσέρχεσθαι characteristic of the Epistle to the Hebrews, e.g. iv. 16, vii. 25 (δὲ αὐτοῦ).]

πτωχός (τῷ πνεύματι), ταπεινός (Matt. v. 3). Chrysostom holds that the former is the higher word, pointing out that ταπεινότης may be involuntary or exaggerated.

σάρξ, σῶμα. The view which more than one heretical sect held as to the inherent evil of matter made it necessary for Chrysostom again and again to insist on the distinction between the two words, lest it might seem that Scripture sanctioned the disparagement of the Body. Thus he remarks that σάρξ denotes sometimes the "whole man including the soul," sometimes "the grosser impulse of the mind," sometimes "the fleshly worldly life with all its debauchery and profligacy, making the man wholly flesh, but never the bodily nature itself" (ix. 566, 568, comp. x. 395 E and especially 720 B). Theodore in a striking note on Rom. vii. 5 marks off four meanings of σάρξ;—(1) man's nature; (2) man's nature in its mortality, a view closely connected with his account of sin (comp. Dr Swete i. 94, n. 5); (3) suffering (Hebr. v. 7); (4) all that is transitory and frail.

[στέργειν, φιλεῖν (Rom. xii. 10). The former word is an advance on the latter. St Paul bids the Romans οὐχ ἀπλῶς φιλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ στέργειν. Thus the latter part of the compound φιλό-

¹ Plato *Respubl.* iv. 441 A; on the other hand Aristotle's view (*de Anima* ii. 2, comp. Grote *Aristotle* ii. ch. xii.) distinguishing (1) the Form (εἶδος), (2) the Matter (ὕλη), (3) the aggregate of the two (τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν), seems essentially dichotomistic.

στοργος strengthens the former—καὶ φιλεῖ καὶ θερμῶς φιλεῖ. So Basil (ap. Cramer *Cat.* iv. p. 446) ἡ γὰρ στοργὴ κατ' ἐπίτασιν τῆς φιλίας γένοιτ' ἂν ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ διαθέσει διαπύρῳ τοῦ ἀγαπῶντος πρὸς τὸν ἀγαπώμενον.]

τρόμος, φόβος (Phil. ii. 12). τρόμος, ὅπερ ἐπίτασίς ἐστι τοῦ φόβου.

ὕμνος, ψαλμός, ᾠδή (Col. iii. 16). The first two words are expressly distinguished. "Psalms are wide in compass (πάντα ἔχουσιν); hymns exclude anything merely human. When a man has been taught in psalms, then shall he also know hymns, seeing that is a diviner knowledge. αἱ γὰρ ἄνω δυνάμεις ὕμνουσιν, οὐ ψάλλουσιν." (Cod. Regius adds ἀμαρτωλοὶ οὐχ ὕμνουσιν.) And again, "What is the hymn of those above? The Faithful know¹. What said the angels? 'Glory to God in the highest.' Wherefore after the singing of psalms (μετὰ τὰς ψαλμωδίας) the hymns come, seeing that the latter are a thing more perfect." It is interesting to notice that Chrysostom throughout bases his distinction on the custom of his own days (comp. Bingham *Antiq.* xiv. cc. 1. 2). Chrysostom implies the larger meaning of ᾠδή when he says, νῦν δὲ σατανικὰς μὲν ᾠδὰς καὶ ὀρχήσεις ἐροῦσιν οἱ παῖδες οἱ ὑμέτεροι...ψαλμὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδένα οἶδεν.

This whole investigation has an immediate bearing upon questions which of late years have been earnestly discussed. Is accuracy the needful quality of a popular version? Does its attainment compensate for the loss of some grace and dignity of diction? The subject is a large one. But it is at least remarkable that the greatest preacher of ancient times in his popular expositions did not shrink from a somewhat technical discussion of grammatical minutiae, and felt bound to bring out latent shades of meaning, or the precise force of ambiguous words. Scholarly accuracy is the handmaid of reverence.

¹ The allusion is to the 'Triumphal Hymn' in the Anaphora (Hammond *Liturgies* p. 107 sq., *The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch* p. 15).

CHAPTER IV.

CHRYSOSTOM AS AN INTERPRETER OF THE GOSPELS.

BEFORE reviewing in detail any specimens of Chrysostom's exegesis, it will be worth while to gather from his Commentaries, especially those on St Matthew and St John, what may be called a brief 'Introduction to the Gospels.'

Chrysostom has two main arguments to prove the early date of the Gospels. Their antiquity is certified by the very opponents of the faith Celsus and Porphyry. They would not have controverted books later than their own time. Again, their universal acceptance is their warrant¹, an acceptance which must not be taken apart from the growth and vigour of the Church. All this in turn was the subject of prophecy, and the prophecies in their Greek dress are in the hands of enemies, and cannot be gainsaid².

Passing on to speak of the Evangelists themselves, Chrysostom notes that of so many disciples, two only among the Apostles, two only among their immediate followers, wrote Gospels. "One Evangelist might indeed have sufficed. But when there are four, writing at different times, in different places, without meeting or consulting together, yet always speaking as with one mouth, a very strong demonstration of their truthfulness is thereby given" (vii. 5 B). Two characteristics in which all share strike Chrysostom forcibly. All were of humble birth and station. St John is described as

¹ Chrysostom tells us that in Antioch women and children hung the Gospels round their necks as a charm (ii. 197).

² x. 47 E. The name *Βαταναίων* applied to Porphyry seems to describe him as a native of Batanea, the ancient Bashan.

absolutely uneducated (*ὁ ἰδιώτης ἰδιωτεῖαν καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐσχάτην*), the son of a father who was abjectly poor¹. Such men can only have written what they did through the grace of the Spirit. Again, they were utterly truthful. "Truth was the one and only thing which they cared for."

Bound together by this one sublime purpose the Evangelists differ from each other. Chrysostom insists on the great contrast between St John and the Synoptists. Yet, he notes, the former does not neglect the Lord's human life, nor the latter pass over in silence His eternal preexistence (vii. 7, viii. 27, 96, 101).

Nor does the difference between the first three Evangelists escape Chrysostom's notice. "St Matthew is said to have composed his Gospel in Hebrew, when the Jews who had believed came to him and requested him to bequeath to them in writing what he had taught them by word of mouth. St Mark wrote in Egypt, likewise at the earnest request of the disciples" (vii. 7). In Chrysostom's opinion St Matthew is the earliest of the Evangelists; hence his minuteness in dealing with the genealogy. St Mark followed him; hence his brevity, for the history had been already narrated. St Luke, writing for no special class, traces the Lord's descent to Adam. Further, St Mark and St Luke follow each the distinguishing style of his master; the latter the impetuous flow of St Paul (*ὕπὲρ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ῥέοντα*), the former the conciseness of St Peter².

The later date of St John's Gospel likewise suggests to Chrysostom an explanation of some of its phenomena³.

¹ vii. 4A, 180D ('mending their nets,' for they were too miserably poor to buy new ones), viii. 8. But St Luke was *φιλομαθής* (xi. 720E).

² vii. 7B, 46A. It is hard to reconcile Chrysostom's assertion of the Evangelists' independence (vii. 5B). Two other points may be noted: (1) Chrysostom records the opinion of some that St Paul (2 Cor. viii. 18) refers to the Third Gospel; (2) he explains *ὕπὲρ ὃ γέγραπται* (1 Cor. iv. 6) as a reference to Matt. vii. 1—3.

³ The Prooemium of Theodore on St John (Migne 66. 728) is interesting. The disciples at Ephesus bring to the Apostle the other Gospels. He commends their truthfulness, but notices that they fail to give an account of several of the greatest miracles, and to lay due stress on the Deity of the Lord.

Hence comes the omission of many events already noticed by the other Evangelists (viii. 97). Hence too the complete silence as to the Lord's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem (vii. 734). At the same time Chrysostom implies that in his judgment little more than a generation intervened between the events narrated and the publication of the record. Thus, discussing the readings Bethany and Bethabara (i. 28), he notes that the Apostle "was not about to tell of events long past, but such as had taken place but a little while before. So he calls those who had been actual eyewitnesses to confirm his story" (viii. 96). For the same reason the name Malchus (viii. 491) and the name Lazarus (ii. 646) are given in this Gospel.

But while Chrysostom thus rightly calls attention to the definiteness of this Gospel, he again and again points out that here the facts of the Lord's life fill a less space than in the other Gospels. "It was the Evangelist's aim to devote the larger part of his Book to the words and discourses of the Lord" (viii. 248). "This Apostle is very lofty, full of many sublime doctrines, and lingering over them more than over aught else" (viii. 15). The other Evangelists had treated of the Lord's earthly life (τῷ τῆς οἰκονομίας λόγῳ); St John's special function was to bear witness to His Divinity (vii. 7). Yet in this 'Spiritual Gospel' Chrysostom finds no mere ideal romance in which the chief actor is a docetic phantom. "Why is it that this Evangelist is so deeply concerned to tell us ever and again that Jesus wept, and that He restrained Himself?¹ It is that thou mightest know that verily He clothed Himself in our nature. For as he utters sublime truths about Him more than the other Evangelists, so in things pertaining to His body he here speaks in far more lowly fashion than do they" (viii. 377). Elsewhere, dwelling on this characteristic of St John, Chrysostom emphatically states his own belief that the full truth of the Incarnation is "no mean portion of the doctrines of the Church and the chief

¹ Chrysostom interprets ἐνεβριμήσατο τῷ πνεύματι (xi. 33) to mean ἐπετίμησε τῷ πάθει.

thing (τὸ κεφάλαιον) in the matter of our salvation" (viii. 176). The fact that the Anomoean heresy is always before Chrysostom in these Homilies on St John puts these protests against unreal teaching as to the Lord's Humanity in strong and clear relief.

There is one subject, on which Chrysostom has much which is valuable to teach, which must find a place in this brief 'Introduction.' What is the true view of the mutual relations of the Gospels as to their narrative portion? Here Chrysostom seems to hold two complementary principles.

On the one hand the absolute unanimity of the Gospels in all which is essential is strongly insisted on. Thus "the unity or want of unity must not be estimated by the number of the writers, but by the oneness or the divergence of what they say. Clearly then the four Gospels are One Gospel" (x. 667 E). "Though the persons of the writers differ, the grace of the Spirit which moved the soul of each of them is one" (iii. 37 D). Of this unanimity there are to the mind of Chrysostom two great external witnesses. It is proved by the universal acceptance of the Gospels. Again its guarantee is heresy. "For heresies arose, holding opinions at variance with the Gospels; and some of them accepted the Gospels as a whole, some of them received but parts. Now had not the Gospels been at agreement, the former class would not have received them as a whole, nor would the latter have been convicted of error by that which they received....As in a small portion of a rib, you may find elements of all the component parts of the body, so in each fragment of the Scriptures the kindred nature of the whole plainly appears"¹.

On the other hand in this true agreement, the proof and pledge of its perfect honesty, there is divergence. "Had there been a minute agreement among the Evangelists, even in matters of date and place and details of language, their

¹ vii. 7 sq. The reference seems to be to such an argument as that of Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* iv. Comp. *κέρηται* [τῷ Παύλῳ] καὶ Μαρκίων καὶ Μανιχαῖος, ἀλλὰ κατατέμνοντες· ἀλλ' ὁμῶς καὶ οὕτως ἐλέγχονται ἀπὸ τῶν μελῶν (v. l. μερῶν). x. 587 A.

enemies would never have believed that they did not meet together, and thus in accordance with some merely human compact compose their histories. Such agreement as this would not be consistent with candour" (vii. 5 B). At the same time "variation in statement must be distinguished from contradiction" (*ἕτερόν ἐστι διαφόρως εἰπεῖν καὶ μαχομένους εἰπεῖν*. vii. 8 B).

Chrysostom's theory is wise. A few examples will shew how far his practice is consistent.

Chrysostom compares the narrative of St Matthew with that of St Mark. Thus the former (xviii. 1) tells us that the Disciples came to Jesus and asked Him who was the greatest in the Kingdom. St Mark (ix. 33, 34) mentions only the dispute among themselves. Chrysostom finds an explanation in the probability that this was no isolated case, and that now they both disputed among themselves and asked their Master. The real difficulty, it will be noted, is passed over. Nothing is said of the probing question of the Lord in St Mark's account (vii. 587 A). Again, 'the word of Jesus' is differently recorded by St Matthew (xxvi. 75) and St Mark (xiv. 72). The former says 'before the cock crow,' the latter 'before the cock crow twice.' Chrysostom quaintly reconciles the Evangelists by urging that in each single cock-crowing (*καθ' ἑκάστην ἀγωγὴν*) the cock crows three or four times. It should be added that he accounts for St Mark's greater minuteness by the fact that he was St Peter's pupil.

More important cases arise when the Gospels of the First and of the Third Evangelist are considered side by side. Chrysostom, for example, rejecting an opinion (only plausible, he urges, from its simplicity) that the Evangelists are narrating different miracles, starts an elaborate theory of his own to explain their divergent accounts of the healing of the Centurion's servant. The Centurion, he thinks, would fain have gone himself, but was hindered by the Jews who flattered him and promised themselves to fetch Christ. And whereas they should have told the Lord all this, their envy of the man kept them silent. But when the Centurion was

rid of them, he sent friends to the Lord saying that it was from no lack of earnestness that he failed to come himself. If one Evangelist says that he came himself, the other that he sent friends, this is of no consequence. The question is whether both alike represent the eagerness of the man, and the fact that he had a true view about the Christ. Besides, men in trouble often change their plans, and it is likely that after sending friends he came himself. Thus the Evangelists omit each one point. They are not at variance, but each supplies that detail which was passed over by the other (vii. 316). Again, if St Matthew mentions two demoniacs at Gadara, St Luke, Chrysostom insists, does not say that there was one demoniac and no more, but rather speaks only of the worse case of the two; hence the tragic tone of his description. Here too there is a variation, but no contradiction (vii. 335 E). On the other hand Chrysostom rightly refuses to identify St Matthew's parable of the Talents with St Luke's parable of the Minae (vii. 753 c)¹.

Lastly, Chrysostom is careful to warn against illusory parallels between the narrative of the Synoptists and that of St John. Thus he distinguishes two callings of the disciples, two cleansings of the Temple. He will not identify the Nobleman of St John with the Centurion of St Matthew, nor the paralytic mentioned by the latter (ix. 2 sq.) with that one whose healing is recorded by the former (v. 1 sq.). The Lord, he tells us, twice walked on the sea, was twice anointed. Again, in Chrysostom's view St John takes up a history at an earlier stage than the other Evangelists, when he makes the Lord put the question to Philip 'Whence are we to buy bread?', another history at a later stage than the rest, when before the Triumphal entry, he pictures Him as Himself finding the ass. Once more, if St Luke tells us that 'Satan entered into Judas' before the bargain was struck, while St John speaks of

¹ Dr Abbot's ingenious theorising (*The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels* p. xxxiv.) cannot stoop to take account of this difference. Chrysostom discusses other cases of apparent discrepancy between the two Evangelists in his Homilies on St Matthew vii. 118 A, 135 A, 192 A, 333 B, 357 A, 406 D, 437 B, 565 D, 671 B, 820 C.

the traitor's inspiration in connexion with the beginning of supper, and again of Satan's entrance into him after he had received the sop, Chrysostom sees a reconciliation of the two accounts in the awful working of the spiritual world. Satan first tries the metal of a man (*διακωδωνισας*), he makes less determined assaults upon him; it is only when he sees that all is prepared for his entrance that he possesses him entirely¹.

Such in general are the views which Chrysostom held as to the form and character of the Gospels. I propose to summarise a few of his Expositions (1) of Gospel Histories (2) of the Lord's discourses.

Typical Expositions of Gospel Histories.

St Matthew i. 1—16. Chrysostom distinguishes no less than eight questions suggested by St Matthew's account of the Lord's Genealogy. They are these. (1) Why is the genealogy of Joseph given? (2) What proof is there that the Lord was of David's line, seeing that the Virgin's genealogy is not recorded?² (3) Why is this last not given? (4) Why does the Evangelist mention women in the genealogy? (5) Why does he pass over the holy women, and include those who were sinful in life and foreign in descent? (6) Why does he omit the three kings in the middle section? (7) Why in the last section of the genealogy does he, while professing to mention fourteen, really refer only to twelve generations? (8) Why are the names which St Luke records different and more numerous? (vii. 14, 45). Chrysostom's answer to the first of his own questions is the only one which must find a place here. The reason why Joseph's genealogy is recorded is twofold. There is an historical reason. According to Jewish custom the genealogies of women were not recorded. Had the Evangelist inserted that of the Virgin, he would have exposed himself to the charge of innovation. Had he kept

¹ vii. 179 B, viii. 133 (vii. 661 B), 204, 211 (vii. 342 C), 249, 255, 368, 395, vii. 776 D.

² Comp. above p. 85. Theodore on 1 Tim. i. 4 refers to his own discussion of these points in his exposition of the Gospels.

back that of Joseph, we should not have known the Virgin's ancestry (26 c). But another account, of deeper and more mystical import (τὴν μυστικωτέραν καὶ ἀπορρητοτέραν ἐκείνης), may be given. "It was not God's will that at the time of the Birth the Jews should know that the Christ was born of a Virgin. Be not troubled at the strangeness of what I say. The word is not mine; it is that of our fathers, wonderful and notable men....Here was involved the safety of the Virgin and the avoidance of base suspicion" (33 A)¹. The apologetic tone in which this 'mystical' explanation is introduced is

¹ This passage should be compared with that quoted above p. 75 sq. When the two passages are placed side by side, it will be noticed that most of their striking points are also contained in a passage from a supposed commentary of Theophilus of Antioch (c. A.D. 180). "Cum Joseph non sit pater domini Salvatoris, quid pertinet ad dominum generationis ejus ordo adductus usque ad Joseph? Sciendum est primum, non esse consuetudinis Scripturarum, ut mulierum generatio describatur, deinde ex una tribu fuisse Joseph et Mariam, unde ex lege eam ut propinquam ducere cogebatur in uxorem; ideoque in Bethlehem simul censentur, quod de una stirpe sint generati. Cur esset desponsata mater ejus Maria? Quare non simplici virgine sed desponsata concipitur Christus? Primum ut per generationem Joseph origo Mariae monstraretur; secundo ne lapidaretur a Judaeis ut adultera; tertio ut in Aegyptum fugiens haberet solatium viri; quarto ut partus ejus falleret diabolum, putantem Jesum de uxorata non de virgine natum" (Zahn *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons* II. Theil p. 31). Zahn refers to Ignatius *Eph.* xix.; Origen *Hom. vi. in Lucam*; Theodore of Heraclea (who reproduces the first three reasons of 'Theophilus'); Basil (*Ed. Garnier* II. 589 c, εἰρηται δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τινι...); Ambrose in *Lucam*. None of these parallels is so close, I think, as the passages from Chrysostom which Zahn seems to have overlooked. The interest of the possible reference is this—Zahn (in the work above mentioned) maintains, Harnack (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*: 1 Band, Heft iv.) strenuously denies, that here we have an authentic work of Theophilus of Antioch. (Dr Sanday *Studia Biblica* p. 89 sq., gives a summary of the controversy. Bp Lightfoot *Ignatius* I. p. 134 suspends judgment.) Quite apart from any attempt 'tantas componere lites,' this scrap of evidence is worth noting. The plural in Chrysostom's phrase (πατέρων ἡμετέρων θαυμαστών καὶ ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν) leaves room for Ignatius and Theophilus, both Bishops of Antioch. Contrast ἀγὼς τις πρὸ ἡμῶν τῆς διαδοχῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων γενόμενος (I. 693 c, a possible reference to the Longer Recension of Ignatian Epistles, see Lightfoot I. p. 158) and ἀνὴρ τις ἀγιος εἶπε (xi. 86 c, a possible reference to Cyprian, see Field's note).

characteristic. As for the general subject of the genealogies, perhaps modern critics might echo the preacher's words, "there is need of diligence not only to solve the problems, but also to learn what problems need solution" (15 A)¹.

St Matthew iii. 13—iv. 11. Why, Chrysostom asks, does the Lord come to the Baptism of John at the age of thirty? His answer is perhaps a reminiscence of the well-known passage in Irenaeus (ii. 33. 2). Each age of man has its special temptation, thoughtlessness, pleasure, avarice. The Lord passed through each successive stage, each bringing its typical trial. In all He perfectly kept the law. Then and not till then He came to the Baptism of John². By His Baptism having fulfilled all righteousness, thenceforth He began to abolish the Law (vii. 140, 161 D). The Temptation succeeds the Baptism. 'Then was Jesus led up,' after the descent on Him of the Holy Spirit (the dove bringing no olive branch as of old, but the adoption of sons to the whole family of man), after the voice from Heaven. It was the Holy Spirit which led Him into the wilderness, (for the Devil besets men most sorely when he sees them alone), that

¹ In the first year of his presbyterate (386) Chrysostom delivered a sermon (ii. 354) on the subject of Christmas Day, curious for more than one reason. The observance of the Festival among the Antiochenes did not as yet date back ten years, but the preacher was cheered by a large congregation. He brings forward three arguments to shew that that day (Dec. 25) was the true anniversary. (1) The link of perpetual observance in the Church was decisive. (2) The Antiochenes had derived the celebration from their Western brethren and the Romans could inspect the public records, and ascertain the correct date from the enrolment of Augustus. (3) But Chrysostom triumphantly produces a clinching proof. The Gospel history, he urges, shews that Zacharias was High Priest (comp. Augustine in *Joan. Tract.* xlix. § 27) and saw the vision when alone in the Holiest Place on the day of Atonement, i.e. at the close of the month Gorpiaeus. Six months pass (Luke i. 36). The Annunciation is thus brought to the month Dystrus (March), and the Nativity to the month Apellaeus (December). It may be added that on Matt. xxiii. 35 Chrysostom mentions that some identify the Zacharias there spoken of with the father of the Baptist. The Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1. 9) is perhaps the earliest instance of this identification (Bp Lightfoot *Contemp. Review* August 1876, p. 409).

² Comp. above p. 88.

Christians might learn to find in greater temptations after their Baptism no unexpected trial, and might never lightly rush into temptation, for Christ said 'Pray that ye enter not into temptation'¹. As to the details of the history, Chrysostom marks the words which preface the first two temptations. The Devil had heard the witness of the Baptist and the Heavenly commendation; he could not believe the Lord to be a mere man. Again, he saw Him hungering; how could He then be God? His words reflect his doubt, 'If Thou art the Son of God.' But in this address when repeated on the pinnacle of the Temple there is a special force. As at the beginning, so now the Devil slanders God. "Vainly did He call Thee Son; He did but mock Thee with His gift. Else give proof of its reality." Chrysostom thus explains the words with which St Luke closes the history, "To my mind the Evangelist by 'every' means the chief of the temptations, as though all the rest were included in these; for these

¹ As to Chrysostom's comment on Matt. vi. 13 (*πονηρὸν ἐνταῦθα τὸν διάβολον καλεῖ*), two passages have escaped notice which seem to imply that the interpretation of the fourth was that of the second century. (1) In the Ancient Homily which was long called the 'Second Epistle of Clement,' the preacher says (c. xviii.) *καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς πανθαμαρτωλὸς ὢν καὶ μήπω φυγὼν τὸν πειρασμόν, ἀλλ' ἐτι ὢν ἐν μέσσοις τοῖς ὀργάνοις τοῦ διαβόλου, σπουδάζω κ.τ.λ.* It seems probable that he had the Lord's Prayer in his mind (a) because in two successive clauses there is a close parallel in thought to two successive clauses of the Prayer; (b) because of the turn of the sentence (*πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ*); (c) because in more than one other place the language of the Preacher seems to recall that of the Prayer, perhaps just used in the Congregation, (*ἐκδεχόμεθα...τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ* (xii.), *ποιούντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν θεοῦ* (xiv.)). (2) The Christians of Lyons and Vienne write (ap. Eus. *H. E.* v. 1 § 6), *τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς ἐρρύετο (ἢ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ)· ἀντιπαρέτασσε δὲ στύλους ἐδραῖους, δυναμένους διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς πᾶσαν τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πονηροῦ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐλκύσαι, οἱ καὶ ὁμοίε ἐχώρουν αὐτῷ.* The date of the Homily apparently falls within the first half of the Second Century. The letter was written during the persecution of 177 A.D. The first witness speaks, it would appear, from Corinth; the second piece of evidence comes from the Gallican offshoot of the Apostolic Churches of Asia Minor. The *Didaché* (ch. x. comp. 2 Tim. iv. 18) may be quoted as an early witness on the other side, where comp. the doxology with that in ch. viii. From a general point of view, the striking connexion between the Lord's Prayer and the Lord's own typical experience in the wilderness—bread, temptation, the Evil One—should be taken into account.

gather in themselves countless evils, slavery to the belly, the prompting of vain glory, the mad desire for gain." "And behold angels came: for while the struggle lasted, He suffered them not to appear, that He might not so scare away His prey; but when He had wholly confuted him and put him to flight, then do the angels appear, even as they came and took Lazarus after the fiery trial of his poverty and hunger"¹.

St Matthew xvi. 13—20 (xviii. 18). Chrysostom begins his homily on the passage by noting two points as to the place. The name of the founder of the town is mentioned to distinguish it from that other Caesarea which bore the name of Strato. Again, the Lord led His disciples here of set purpose, that now being far from the Jews they might tell Him all that was in their hearts with perfect freedom. The answer of St Peter, 'the coryphaeus of the chorus of the Apostles,' is contrasted with two previous confessions. The sailors in the ship had believed that Christ was Son of God (*υἱὸς θεοῦ*), counting Him one of many sons. Nathanael had greeted Him, 'Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God.' But neither the former nor the latter were commended. Indeed Chrysostom curiously reads into Christ's answer to Nathanael a tone of rebuke. It is different with St Peter. He owns the Lord to be very Son of God (*γνήσιον υἱόν*): hence his reward. As to details, the preacher finds a dogmatic bearing even in the words of Christ's answer to St Peter. "It is almost as though He would say, as thou art Son of Jonah, of the same nature as thy father, so am I Son of God. Else it

¹ Fragments of Theodore are preserved on Luke iii., iv. (Migne 66. 717—721). The following points may be briefly noted. (1) The Divine voice is a proof text in his Christological system; vox Patris adóptionem confirmans et Filii nominatione per adoptionem secundum gratiam eum qui vere Filius est demonstrabat. Comp. frag. from *Treatise on the Incarnation* Swete ii. p. 298. (2) On the Temptation he refutes Julian's objections. (3) Like Chrysostom he thinks that the Devil did not know who the Lord was, but afterwards through the demoniacs he confesses His kingdom. (4) He finds all through a confirmation of his doctrine of the distinction of the Divine and the Human natures, comp. Swete ii. p. 301 (a fragment on Luke xxii. 43 sq.). (5) 'A moment of time' shews *φαντασίαν βροῦς τὸν διάβολον πεποιτηκέναι*.

were superfluous to add the father's name." The rock on which the Church shall be built is 'the faith of the confession.' The chief interest of the promise 'I will give to thee the keys' is again controversial. It is 'I will give,' not 'I will ask the Father to give.' Elsewhere however Chrysostom supplies his omission in this place (ii. 731, iii. 78, vii. 608). By a blunder of terrible significance he converts the neuter into the masculine, 'whatsoever' into 'whomsoever,' a direction as to Church order into a grant of spiritual despotism. To use Chrysostom's striking phrase, the apostleship granted to the 'President of the Church' becomes a 'spiritual consulship (*ὑπατία πνευματική*). The sequel of the history however supplied Chrysostom with a thought which might soften down the difficulty of Christ's words, read as he read them. Christ commended the Apostle at Caesarea Philippi; there also he sternly rebuked him. "Peter, who should hereafter be entrusted with the Church, himself the pillar of the Churches, the haven of the faith, the teacher of the whole world, was allowed to sin that so he might be pitiful to his fellows. And we priests (*οἱ ἱερεῖς*)," Chrysostom continues, "who sit upon the throne and teach, we too are tied and bound by sins."

St Matthew xvii. 24—27. It is strange how little light Chrysostom throws on questions of Hebrew antiquities or Eastern customs. In this passage he is at fault. The reference is to the half-shekel which each Israelite was bound to pay as 'a ransom for his soul' (Exod. xxx. 12 sq.)¹. Chrysostom however understands the allusion to be to the redemption money paid once for all by 273 firstborn Israelites (Num. iii. 11 sq.). The anxieties of controversy warped his judgment. According to his interpretation the Lord is reckoned as *πρωτότοκος*. Naturally the Commentator interprets Christ's words to St Peter as a strong confirmation of the Nicene doctrine. Christ is the Son of the Heavenly King, else the

¹ Comp. 2 Chron. xxiv. 6. A recent theory supposes the practice to be based on Neh. x. 32 (Robertson Smith *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* p. 64).

illustration drawn from the custom of earthly kings is pointless. Christ is true and very Son; this is required by the distinction which He Himself drew between sons and strangers. The miracle which follows completes the testimony of Christ's words. "Thereby He shews that He is God of the Universe, Ruler of the sea."

St Matthew xxi. 1—8. In his exposition of the history of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem Chrysostom indulges in an allegorical treatment not usual with him. The Lord, fulfilling the prophecy of Zechariah, Himself performs an act which is prophetic. He foretells the call of the Gentiles. The foal is the Church, the new people of God, once unclean, but after Jesus rested thereon clean. As the disciples loosed the asses, so by their means the Gentiles were called and brought to Christ. The ass follows the foal: so the Gentiles' welcome should provoke the Jews to jealousy. The owner's consent, the clothes of the disciples laid on the colt (2 Cor. xii. 15), the gentleness of the foal, all have their counterpart in the Apostolic history¹.

It is worth while to bring together what Chrysostom has to say on the Lord's miracles in general, and on some special miracles.

The miracles of the Gospels do not stand alone, though their profusion is in contrast with the paucity of those in the time of the Prophets. The wonders of old time, Chrysostom says, were wrought mainly to draw proselytes to Israel, or to overawe in Egypt or in Babylon an imperious conqueror. Yet some, as for example the signs in the wilderness, were for the sake of the Israelites alone. "For with ourselves also, when we were coming forth from error, many marvels were shewn. Afterwards, when true religion was planted everywhere, they ceased. Miracles since then have been few and far between. Yet even in our own generation in the case of Julian, a man who exceeded all others in impiety, there happened many strange things." As instances the

¹ Comp. viii. 395. The interpretation is as old as Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 53). Theodore (on Zech. ix. 9) holds that the primary application is to Zerubbabel.

preacher mentions the portents which stopped Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple, the death of his uncle and namesake in the torments of a disease which the conscience of man seems to reserve for persecutors, the visitations of drought and famine in the cities cursed with the Emperor's idolatrous presence (vii. 46)¹.

The miracles of the Gospel fall under a general law of God's working. "In the beginning of strange spiritual movements sensible appearances and signs are vouchsafed for the sake of those who lack understanding....That which these miracles shewed forth once for all at the beginning, that thou must receive in faith, that there may be no more miracles" (vii. 163 c, 181 A, x. 45 E). Miracles then in Chrysostom's view were 'outward and visible signs' of the unseen working of a great spiritual crisis. They were the tangible proofs of the Lord's victorious contest in the spiritual region, the credentials of Christ the Redeemer (viii. 70). They pointed to Christ as the world's Creator and Sustainer. He who converts the rain as it passes through the root of the vine into wine, wrought in a moment at the marriage feast that which He is ever doing in the slow processes of nature. Only the results of His immediate working were far fairer and better than the outcome of His activity through nature. The limb restored was stronger than that which had never

¹ For Julian the Uncle comp. Theodoret *H. E.* iii. 9. Two points may be briefly noted. (1) Apostolic Miracles: Chrysostom thinks these greater than those of the Lord (comp. *Jn* xiv. 12) ix. 97 c: they were the Apostles' credentials as to the Resurrection (ix. 92 c). (2) Chrysostom not unfrequently dwells on the cessation of miracles e.g. v. 455. In other passages however he speaks of ecclesiastical miracles: thus ii. 555 D (*τὰ καθ' ἐκδοτήν ἡμέραν ὑπὸ τῶν μαρτύρων γινόμενα θαύματα*), ii. 691 D, x. 626 A (cf. vii. 175 A); v. 271 (a list of recent miracles, the most curious *οἱ σταυροὶ οἱ κατὰ τῶν ὑμῶν χαράγντες ἀθρόον*, comp. Socrates *H. E.* iii. 20); vii. 373 c (healing with holy oil); vii. 580 (certain saints removed mountains, the reference being to Gregory Thaumaturgus); ii. 3 c, xi. 547 c, 643 B (the clothes and bones of Timothy raised the dead). Blunt *On the Right Use of the Early Fathers* p. 384 has collected notices of Post-Apostolic miracles in Christian writers till the time of Eusebius. Mozley (*Lectures on Miracles* p. 181 sq.) argues that belief in such later miracles does not weaken the appeal to the Gospel miracles.

ailed. The wine He made was the best, the bridegroom and the ruler of the feast being witnesses (viii. 128, 129; vii. 204 E). Here too lay the proof of His Divine Mission and of His equality with the Father. He worked with authority as Himself Divine; He prayed tracing all to the Father; that He might thereby reveal that He came from the Father (vii. 505 E).

But the Lord's miracles were not wrought at random. They had constant reference to the moral state of those around Him. "Signs were given to the unbelieving, yet not to those who asked only that they might tempt" (viii. 138 B). "Prophecies and teaching influenced the more thoughtful, signs the duller, minds¹. Still to those whom the teaching won, signs gave new steadfastness" (viii. 132, 137, 296). Even the Disciples were educated by miracles. By these the Master, *παιδοτρίβης τις ἄριστος*, trained His followers. Thus Chrysostom beautifully draws out the contrast between the two storms on the Lake. On the first occasion Christ was in the boat with them, asleep indeed, but at hand to reassure them. Not so on the second occasion. Now He subjects their patience to a sterner trial. He is absent from them when He suffers the storm to rise. Now too it is night. Nor does He come to them at once, for He would kindle in them a deeper longing for Himself and a more constant remembrance. Thus gently and by degrees He leads them on, teaching them a noble endurance (vii. 333 C, 513 D). And if Christ, like a wise and skilled physician, suits his treatment to the case before Him, the result is always perfect and always complete. There is no time of slow renewal to Peter's wife's mother; no gradual subsiding of the storm. The waves are at once stilled, even as the winds are hushed.

Once more, Chrysostom notes the pregnant words of Prophecy which the Evangelist cites (Matt. viii. 17). Isaiah does not say He removed (*ἔλυσεν*), but He took, He bare. He uses, that is, a kindred phrase to that with which the Baptist describes the office of the Lamb of God. And if it be asked

¹ But a holy life is more persuasive than wonderful signs (vii. 485 C).

why the Evangelist applies the prediction to the healing of disease, Chrysostom answers, either because he read the prophecy in the after light of the actual history, or because most diseases of the body arise from carnal sins (vii. 327 D).

St Matthew xv. 21—28. Chrysostom finds a subtle connexion here with the history immediately preceding. The Lord had just released men from the bondage of minute rules in matters of food; He now departs into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon: just as St Peter is first taught by the Vision that the law is done away, and is then sent to Cornelius. Some however, the Commentator adds, suggest an allegorical treatment. The woman represents the Universal Church. Christ departed from Judaea; then the Church came out of her borders and ventured to approach Him. But as the history proceeds, Chrysostom gives the strangest turn to the interference of the Disciples. They felt for the woman's sorrow, and would plead her cause. Yet they did not venture directly to ask the boon from their Master, but, like men who would fain win some one over to their side, and in their diplomacy ask for the very opposite of what they desire, they said 'Send her away.' In tracing the working of the woman's 'noble shamelessness' (*ἀπηναισχύντησε καλὴν ἀναισχυντίαν*), Chrysostom seems to recognise the shade of meaning conveyed by *τὰ κυνάρια* (the dogs of the household). "On the very words of the Lord she founds her plea. If I am a dog (*κυνάριον*), she says, I am no alien."

St Matthew xxi. 18, 19. To explain the difficulties of the history Chrysostom has recourse to the supposition that the Evangelists do but record here the impressions (*ἢ ὑπόνοια*) of the yet untrained disciples. They fancied that the Lord went to the tree if haply He might find fruit on it; they fancied that He cursed it because He found none. The true meaning is this. The Lord had always done kindnesses; He had punished no one. It was needful that He should give a proof of His power to execute judgment, that disciples and Jews alike might learn that, though he was able to blast His persecutors, yet of His own will He endured the Cross. Such

is Chrysostom's interpretation. He mentions, only to reject it, an opinion held by some that the fig tree represented the Law. The phrase 'the time of figs was not yet' is decisive against it. "For the fruit of the Law is faith, and the time for this fruit had then come."

St John ii. 1—11. Chrysostom has a fine passage on the remarkable words 'Mine hour is not yet come.' Recognising in them a lower meaning, "I am not yet known to those here, nor are they aware that the wine has failed," he notes their nobler aspect. Christ, the maker of times and seasons and the Creator of the ages, was not subject to the constraint of the exact observance of a single hour. Yet here He shews that He does all things at the right moment. The creation must be finished, but it was not all completed at once; man and woman must be formed but they were not formed at the same time. The condemnation of man must be followed by the Resurrection; the Law must be given, and after that the grace of the Gospel; but in each case there is a wide interval. All the parts of the dispensations were ordered at their proper seasons.

St John v. 2—9. The manner of the cure, Chrysostom urges, is not recorded without meaning; rather the history sketches for us in type and figure what then was future. Baptism was soon to be given, which should cleanse all sins and give life to the dead. Of Baptism the Pool was a parable. For the figures of the truth as they draw nearer to the truth in time are clearer than those of old days, as courtiers near the king's person are in more gorgeous array than those at a distance from him. An angel coming down troubled the water (*καταβαίνων ἐτάραττε τὸ ὕδωρ*) and infused into it healing virtue. This was done that the Jews might learn that much more can the King of angels heal all the diseases of the soul. As then the natural water healed not, save only through the operation of the Angel, so with us the water availeth nothing; but when it receives the grace of the Spirit¹, then it remits

¹ The reference is to the Invocation, part of the prayer of Consecration. So Tert. *de Bapt.* iv. Sacramentum sanctificationis consequuntur invocato Deo. Supervenit enim statim Spiritus de caelis et aquis superest sanctifi-

all sins. Around the Pool there lay the great company of sick 'waiting for the troubling of the water (*ἐκδεχομένων τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κίνησιν*).' His very sickness was then a hindrance to the man who would be healed; now all may come. For now it is not an Angel who troubles the waters; it is the Lord of Angels who does all. Though all the world should come, grace is not exhausted; its energies are not squandered; it ever remains the same.

It will be noticed that Chrysostom shews a knowledge of both the interpolated clauses (vv. 3b, 4). Indeed he appears to be the earliest Greek Father in whose writings their presence can be traced¹.

Typical Expositions of the Lord's Teaching.

Chrysostom lays stress on the words with which the Evangelist introduces the Sermon on the Mount, 'He opened His mouth and taught them.' He taught men, he says, by His silence. Sometimes He opened His mouth, sometimes He uttered His voice through His works. We turn now from Christ's works to Christ's words.

St Matthew v. Naturally we look first to the Sermon on the Mount, the foundation, as Chrysostom calls it, of the New Polity. I select his interpretation of some detached passages in it. He puts aside decisively the explanation of some which made the earth which is the inheritance of the meek to be a spiritual (*νοητήν*) earth. Such an expression is unknown to Scripture. The Lord sets before men a material reward, as does St Paul (Eph. vi. 2, 3), and as, he curiously adds, Christ does again Himself, 'To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise.' The world says that the meek man loses his all; Christ that his possessions alone are secure. Indeed, that His words

cans eas de semetipso, et ita sanctificatae vim sanctificandi combibunt. (Comp. Bingham *Antiquities* Bk. xi. Ch. x. § 1.) Comp. the Latin of Art. xxvii. vi divinae invocationis gratia augetur. As to the Administration of Holy Baptism in Chrysostom's time see e.g. the two sermons *ad illuminandos* ii. 226 sq., x. 379 sq.

¹ Westcott and Hort *Notes on Select Readings* p. 77.

might not always have a strange sound in them, He weaves into His discourse a familiar phrase (Ps. xxxvii. 11). Similarly Chrysostom makes righteousness to be the equivalent, not of virtue generally, but of that special virtue which is the opposite of covetousness. Christ commends those who follow after this righteousness with full desire. "Do what is righteous, and then fear not poverty or hunger." The contrast between this interpretation and that of Augustine is suggestive. "Very beautifully Augustine draws from John vi. 26—65 a commentary on this text, making 'righteousness' here equivalent with 'bread from heaven' there, and urging that in both passages we should understand nothing short of Christ Himself... He cites the words of St Paul (1 Cor. i. 30) in proof that 'righteousness' here is equally exchangeable for Him in whom all righteousness is contained."¹

'These least commandments' (v. 19) are the laws of Christ's kingdom. They are indeed great and sublime, yet here called 'least' because the Lawgiver is the Lord who humbled Himself and whose words are humble. Besides, He speaks with modesty because as yet there was a suspicion of novelty about His laws. Yet whoever breaks them and teaches others to break them, 'shall be called least in the kingdom of Heaven.' By the kingdom is here meant the time of the Resurrection and the awful day of the Advent. He who is least in that day "shall be cast away, being last; and he who is last shall fall into Gehenna."² In the passage which speaks of the three stages of anger Chrysostom, having εἰκῆ in his text, naturally lays stress upon it. We are forbidden to be angry 'out of season,' that is, in defence of ourselves (Rom. xii. 19) or of our goods (1 Cor. vi. 7). Raca is a term of disparagement and contempt. "As we in giving orders to

¹ Trench *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount* p. 163.

² In Matt. xi. 11 Chrysostom would pause after ὁ δὲ μικρότερος referring the word to Christ Himself as being less than the Baptist in age and in the opinion of the people; not, as some, to the Angels or, as others, to the Apostles. But He is 'greater in the kingdom of Heaven' i.e. ἐν τοῖς πνευματικοῖς καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἅπασιν.

a servant or to some one of mean rank say *Go you; take you this message* (ἀπελθε σὺ, εἰπὲ τῷ δεινῷ σὺ), so those who use the Syrian language used *Raca*, an equivalent to our *you* (σὺ).” Those who take the word ‘Fool’ in any but the literal sense are warned of their danger. If friendship makes grievous things light, so enmity gives slight things a serious meaning. Elsewhere (i. 124) Chrysostom insists on the absurdity of others who carefully avoid the word itself, but indulge freely in its equivalents. The council is the court of the Hebrews (τὸ δικαστήριον τῶν Ἑβραίων), for Christ did not wish always to use strange and startling terms. This punishment is light; it is of this world. Next, for the first time, Christ speaks of Gehenna. “Thou didst despise the lesser doom; thou didst go on to greater cruelty. I chastise thee no more with these finite penalties, but with the immortal punishment (τῇ ἀθανάτῳ κολάσει), that thou mayest not break out into murder.”

Chrysostom has much that is good on ‘the gift left before the altar.’¹ He finds a special warning in the Lord’s words for “the Initiated who approach the Table with enmity in their hearts.” But there is an application also to ‘the Uninitiated’; for they too offer a gift and sacrifice, prayers, that is, and alms. The adversary is to be taken literally. He is not the Devil, as some think making *agree with* equivalent to *have nothing to do with*. “To me,” Chrysostom says, “the Lord seems to speak of earthly judges, of the road to the law court, and of an earthly prison.”

A review of these interpretations reveals one of Chrysostom’s great defects in dealing with the Gospels. He misses the paradoxical form in which the Lord clothes so much of His teaching, especially in this great discourse. Grammatical and logical principles of interpretation defeat their own ends unless the Commentator has an insight into the spirit of a passage. Chrysostom lays much stress on the need of this sympathy in the exposition of the Epistles. In dealing with

¹ ἔχει τι κατὰ σοῦ = κἂν το τυχόν ἐχη τι.

the Lord's sayings, so much simpler and so much harder, it is in this point he fails.

Matthew ix. 14—17. St Matthew tells us that the Pharisees, St Luke that the disciples of John, put the question, 'Why do Thy disciples fast not?' Chrysostom suggests that the Pharisees had made an alliance with John's disciples, as they afterwards did with the Herodians; so the question was put by both. When the Publicans were attacked (v. 11), the Lord has sharp words for their critics; now that He and His own disciples are ridiculed, He answers with all gentleness. Just before He called Himself a physician; now He claims the part of a bridegroom; disclosing unspeakable mysteries by both names, and by the latter recalling to these disciples of John the parable of their Master (John iii. 29). The illustrations from common life (*τὰ κοινὰ ὑποδείγματα*) which follow are both of them suggested by the subject of the dispute, for it was a question of gluttony and feasting; both find a parallel in a single passage of an Old Testament Prophet (Jerem. xiii. 10—12). The old worn garment, the shrivelled wine skins, represent, it seems, according to Chrysostom's explanation, the weakness of the Apostles. Anyone who should seek to infuse into them high and lofty doctrines would render them permanently useless. It was for this reason Christ Himself spoke many things which fell beneath His own proper dignity (John xvi. 12).

St Matthew xii. 31, 32. Why does the Lord speak of blasphemy against Himself as capable, of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost as incapable, of forgiveness? Chrysostom assumes that those to whom Christ was speaking had been guilty of this sin. To them Christ said, "The blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven you, *no not if ye repent.*" The addition is a serious one. For the preacher goes on to point out that some of these Jews afterwards did believe, and all was forgiven them. Hence he is driven to another gloss, weakening, as the other had exaggerated, the force of the simple words. "More than all else (*ὑπὲρ πάντα*) is this sin without forgiveness." The period however during

which the distinction held good was limited. For Chrysostom would lay the stress on the words, 'against the Son of Man.' The Jews did not know who Jesus was, stumbling at Him because of the garb of flesh which He wore. 'Whatsoever blasphemies ye speak against me before the Cross, I forgive.' But it was not so with the Holy Spirit. The Prophets had spoken through Him. The Jews knew that to cast out devils and to perform cures was His work. Thus in accusing Christ of an alliance with Satan they were guilty of this sin.

St Matthew xxiv. The *τότε* of v. 23 in Chrysostom's view divides the great eschatological discourse into two parts¹. The first part, prefaced by a warning of immediate dangers, deals with the destruction of Jerusalem. Chrysostom is very distinct about this. The calamities of which the Lord speaks, falling thick as the flakes of snow (*τὰς νιφάδας τῶν κακῶν*), should come upon that murderous generation. The rising of 'nation against nation' is explained as the preface of the Jewish troubles. The apostolate of St Paul, embracing all lands from Jerusalem to Spain, justifies the description of the Gospel 'preached for a testimony' (i.e. as an indictment, an accusation) 'to all the nations.' The end to which all this leads is the fall of Jerusalem². But what of the Disciples? The sight of the abomination of desolation, that is, the Roman armies, in the Holy Place, would be warning enough for them. And then, lest any recalling the falls and resurrections of Israel in old time, the days of Sennacherib and the days of Antiochus, should indulge the hope that fortune would veer round in this crisis, the Lord tells how men would be thankful to escape without their garment, their lives given them for a prey. "Except those days had

¹ Christ's prophecies, Chrysostom notes (i. 574 v), are of two kinds: some refer to this life, others to the time after the end. The fulfilment of the first is a proof of the truth of the second.

² Chrysostom appeals to Josephus as a witness that Christ's words were no exaggeration (782 v). Chrysostom's references to Josephus are frequent. Kihn *Theodor von Mopsuestia* p. 85 points out that the practice of Theodore is the same, and that it has an important bearing on his view of the Old Testament Canon.

been shortened, if the Roman war had lasted a longer time (*ἐπὶ πλεον ἐκράτησε*), 'no flesh would have been saved,' all Jews, (for all the world over they were outlawed and persecuted), would have perished. But for the sake of the faithful found in their midst those days should be shortened."

At this point the second part of the prophecy begins—'Then if any man shall say unto you.' The sequence is not immediate. The phrase is to be contrasted with '*immediately* after the tribulation &c.,' and compared with, 'in those days' (iii. 1); it assumed, in Chrysostom's view, that Christ's hearers had already placed themselves in that future of which He was about to tell, the season of His Return. Two images describe that Coming. The sudden lightning flash is self-revealing; it needs no herald to proclaim its advent. Again, 'where the carcase is, there also are the eagles.' To Christ there is gathered the company of angels and martyrs and saints¹. 'After the tribulation of these days,' this tribulation of Anti-Christ and false-prophets, there follow the signs in Heaven. These Chrysostom interprets literally. Creation itself is transformed. The Sun is overpowered by the brightness of His Coming. The stars fall, useless when night is no more. 'The powers of the Heavens are shaken,' the Angels, that is, 'who when the stars were made praised Me with loud voice' (Job xxxviii. 7 LXX.), shudder and marvel at the awful change. At last 'the sign of the Son of Man shall appear in Heaven,' the Cross², the proof of the Jews' guilt; then the Son of Man Himself, not resting on the Cross, but seated on the clouds, even as in a cloud He was

¹ Elsewhere (ii. 374 c, 402 A, x. 216 c) Chrysostom applies the words to the celebration of the Eucharist. He blames his people because they left the Church and did not approach the Holy Mysteries, or approached like serpents cleaving to the ground. "Christ called us eagles *ὅτι οὐρανοβατῶμεν, ὅτι ὑψηλὰ πετώμεθα τοῖς πτεροῖς τοῦ πνεύματος κορυφούμενοι.*"

² The *ἐκτέτασις* is reckoned among the true signs of the Coming in the *διδαχή* (comp. the full catena of passages collected by Mr J. Rendel Harris in his pamphlet *The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books* p. 33 sq.). There is an interesting passage (i. 571) where Chrysostom speaks of (1) the universal use of the sign of the Cross; (2) the value of fragments of the true cross as charms.

received up. When Christ added, 'This generation shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished,' He did not mean the generation then alive, but the generation of the faithful, in Scriptural use the limitation of the word depending not on time but on religious and spiritual character: 'This is the generation of them that seek the Lord.' One difficult question connected with this discourse remains. 'Of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the Angels in Heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only.' Chrysostom discusses the words at some length. The Son knew the Father with perfect knowledge. He was the Creator of the ages, therefore of that day. Further He told of the immediate signs of that day (v. 38—41). Here are proofs that He Himself knew that about which He would prevent His disciples asking. But now, as again just before the Ascension, He would assure them that the Father had put these seasons in His own power. Yet inasmuch as He would fain honour them and hide nothing from them He makes Himself one of them; He assigns all here to the Father. Thus Christ's words are represented not as true but as expedient. The dangerous principle of 'œconomy' is at work¹.

Chrysostom's treatment of the parables recorded by the Synoptists deserves a brief notice.

As to the object and character of the parables, Chrysostom remarks that the Lord, like the prophet Ezekiel, used mean and paltry illustrations; putting Himself on a level with the weakness of His hearers (vii. 419 E, 483 D). Often the parables are drawn from Nature, and this of set purpose, to shew that whatsoever the Lord spoke was as certain of accomplishment as the very processes of nature (vii. 483 C). If a contrast is drawn between the Lord's earlier teaching in the Sermon on the Mount and His later teaching by parables, Chrysostom finds the reason for the change of method in the presence of the Scribes and Pharisees (vii. 470 B). Else-

¹ Westcott and Hort *Notes on Select Readings* p. 17 note that the Syrian text omits οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός. The laboured explanation which Chrysostom gives makes his evidence as to the presence of these words in the text the more emphatic.

where he explains the use of parables on the ground that Christ wished at once to give vividness and distinctness to His words, and also to infuse into His teaching a pleasanter savour, that it might be more abiding (viii. 197). Again, Chrysostom is clear as to the main scope of the parables. "All Christ's parables aim at producing virtue shewn forth in works. For of doctrines He seldom speaks" (vii. 640 c). When the battle of the Creeds was not yet fought out, it required some boldness to emphasize the fact that virtue and not orthodoxy was the one lesson enforced by the most characteristic portion of the Lord's teaching.

The principles of the Antiochene School are well illustrated in Chrysostom's method of interpreting the parables. "We must not press the interpretation of the parables to every detail of expression; else many are the absurdities which will follow. To teach us this Himself, Christ explains the parable (of the Tares). He does not say what the servants represent; but when, passing by this detail, He expounds the essential portions, for the sake of which the parable was spoken, He shews that He introduced them to connect the several parts of the story and complete the image...The drift of a parable must be seized: curiosity must ask no more" (vii. 487 E, 638 E, 639 C, viii. 466).

To take the exposition of some parables in detail. The parable of the Sower, says Chrysostom, is placed first to arrest the attention of the hearers. The Sower is none other than the Lord Himself. His coming forth implies no migration, no change save in relation to us (*στέλλει καὶ οἰκονομῶν τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς*). He drew nearer to us by robing Himself in our flesh. The field is the souls of men. Of the seed three parts are wasted, one alone is saved. But the Sower is not to blame. It is not said that He cast the seed, but some fell, by the wayside. Moreover in the spiritual application it is possible for the ground to be changed, for the evil to become good. In this parable Christ speaks of those who reject, in that of the Tares of the heretics who distort, His teaching. Chrysostom's exposition of the latter parable is in one point worthy of special note. The Lord said, 'Lest ye root up the

wheat with them,' to prevent wars and bloodshed. We must not slay a heretic, else a truceless war would break forth upon the world. The words themselves either mean "If ye put heretics to the sword, many also of the saints must fall with them; or, it is possible for the tares to change and become wheat....The Lord does not forbid us to restrain heretics, to stop their mouths, to deprive them of liberty of speech, to break up their assemblies and confederacies; only we must not kill them." The next two parables correct whatever of gloom the first two might suggest. The Lord re-invigorates the faith of the disciples. The leaven is hidden but not destroyed. Its power is great. That which has been leavened in its turn becomes leaven. It should be added that the phrase 'three measures,' which has sorely exercised the ingenuity of some commentators, is in Chrysostom's view simply equivalent to 'many.'

This pair of parables sets forth the power and ultimate victory of the Gospel; the two which follow describe its preciousness. "It spreads abroad like a mustard plant; it wins its way like leaven; it is costly as a pearl¹; it contains untold wealth like a treasure." The parable of the Draw-net completes the group. It corrects a possible error which those which went before might suggest. It is a warning against confidence in the mere preaching of the Gospel, against the fancy that faith alone suffices for salvation. Both here and in the parable of the Tares some are saved and some lost. But the two differ in this. In the earlier parable heresy, in this viciousness of life, is the cause of ruin. Chrysostom notices that as if to increase its awful significance the Lord interprets it unasked. This solemnity of warning is indeed the thought which Chrysostom emphasises as he closes his exposition of the group. Markest thou how many roads there are to destruction? The rock, the thorns, the wayside, the tares, the net. Truly the Lord said, 'Broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many be they that enter in thereby.'

¹ *ἓνα πολύτιμον μαργαρίτην* on which Chrysostom comments thus: *μὴ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ οὐ πολυσχιδής.*

The difficulties of the parable of the 'Labourers in the Vineyard' are obvious. Chrysostom recognises them, though his treatment of them is not successful. In his view the main object of the parable is to kindle to new energy those who late in life own Christ. In a brief season they may retrieve all. The vineyard represents the Commandments of God; the hours of working the present life. The complaint, 'No man hath hired us,' is not to be pressed. God for His part, Chrysostom characteristically remarks, called all at the same time. The will of those called made the difference; they did not all obey at the same time (comp. Gal. i. 15). The great problem of interpretation which the parable suggests is the murmuring of those called first against their fellows. Chrysostom holds that this is merely a part of the machinery of the parable. It puts vividly before us the greatness of the blessing, vast enough to create envy. With this interpretation Chrysostom is forced to disconnect from the parable the words, 'So the last shall be first and the first last.' This, he thinks, is not a conclusion drawn from the parable. The *So* means simply that the truth of the parable is a guarantee of the truth of this prophecy.

Passing over the parable of the Two Sons, which Chrysostom explains by a reference to Rom. ii. 13, we take his treatment of the two allied parables of the Wicked Husbandmen and the Marriage Feast. There is much which is common to both parables; but the second completes the teaching of the first. The first speaks of the kingdom of Heaven being given to another nation; the second reveals the character of that nation. In the first Christ is calling the Jews before His Passion; in the second He is represented as after His death earnestly striving to win them to Himself. But here Chrysostom neglects his own reiterated warnings against a fantastic interpretation of details. Observing that the image of a marriage feast is meant to set forth God's yearning love and the bright joyousness of the Kingdom, he asks why the King, that is God the Father, does not himself espouse the wife. "Because," he answers, "she who is espoused to the Son is espoused to the Father, forasmuch

as there is no difference of essence (διὰ τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς οὐσίας).” Again, Chrysostom insists that the Son who in the first parable is slain is in the second the bridegroom. The guilt of the Jews is complete. They slew the Son: called to the marriage of Him whom they had slain, they will not come, but feign excuses. The last part of the parable warns the Gentiles. “That the Gentiles might not rest their confidence on faith alone, the Lord speaks to them of the judgment which awaits evil deeds....The wedding garment is a holy life and conduct. The calling and the cleansing are of grace; but for him who has been called and who has put on clean raiment to keep that raiment clean, that pertains to his own earnest care.”

The exposition of the parable of the Ten Virgins errs in a different direction. The subject of the parable is the duty of almsgiving, but the lesson is enforced only in the case of one particular class. The Virgins in the parable represent actual virgins. The Lord had commended virginity (Matt. xix. 12). But virgins had need of some special warning, lest having conquered one form of evil, they should be careless as to other sins. Hence indeed the epithet *foolish*: they had endured the harder, now they succumb to the lighter, trial. The lamps therefore represent the grace of virginity; the oil, almsgiving; the sleep of all, death. The *night* either is a detail not to be pressed or implies that the Resurrection will be at night¹. Those that sell are the poor of this world. To them the foolish virgins depart, but they gain nothing thereby. Here also Chrysostom allows the possibility that we have only part of the framework of the parable, admitting however the alternative that we are thus warned that to grow kindly disposed towards others after we depart hence will profit us nothing.

A curious explanation is given of the sheep and the goats. The former are fruitful, the latter unfruitful, in wool and milk and stock. Hence their separation at the end.

¹ The present (σβέννυνται) is unnoticed. In a representation of the parable belonging to the 4th century in the Catacomb of Cyriaca, the torches are extinguished (Northcote and Brownlow *Roma Sotterranea* ii. p. 191).

Here, as in the other parables, Chrysostom insists that a holy life, rather than doctrine, is the Lord's supreme lesson.

In Chrysostom's interpretation of St John's Gospel the dogmatic interest largely predominates. It could hardly indeed be otherwise. The haunting spectre of Arianism had not yet been laid. The axe had still to be brought home to the root of the poisonous tree. It was impossible but that the Gospel which speaks so clearly of the Divine Nature of the Lord should, to the partial exclusion of a broader and more spiritual application, become too often a controversial manual.

Chrysostom's treatment of our Lord's conversation with Nicodemus is a good illustration. Nicodemus had no adequate sense of what the Lord was. His greeting, implying that Christ needed help in doing His miracles, was couched in the language of the heretics. By a dark saying Christ in reply tries to lead Nicodemus to a truer view. "Except thou art begotten from above¹, except thou partakest of the Spirit which is given through the laver of Regeneration, and receivest the true doctrine, thou dost wander outside, thou canst not think rightly of Me, thou art far from the Kingdom of Heaven." Thus the main lines of the interpretation are laid down. The bearing of the passage however on Christian Baptism is insisted on. "Listen," cries the Preacher, dealing with the 5th verse, "you who have no part in the Enlightenment; fear and lament; for terrible is the doom." The Lord's words rebuke a laxity of practice as well as an error of doctrine. "Once," so Chrysostom paraphrases the Lord's teaching, "I fashioned men of earth and water: now I fashion them of water and of Spirit."

But again, the strictly theological aspect of the passage is insisted on. The words, 'that which is born of the flesh is flesh,' at once suggest a question as to Christ's birth of the Virgin², and also vindicate the Divinity of the Holy Spirit

¹ τὸ ἄνωθεν ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φασιν, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

² It may be noted that Chrysostom uses the word *θεοτόκος* vi. 269 c. Foerster (p. 116) says peremptorily "sind die Stellen, wo er es thut, anerkannt unecht." The word was however in use long before this time.

(comp. i. 13). Two other details in Chrysostom's interpretation may be noted. (1) In '*we* know,' '*we* speak,' the Lord may refer only to Himself, or the plural may imply, 'the Father and I.' (2) What are the 'earthly things' and the 'Heavenly things' of verse 12? Rejecting an interpretation which would make the former refer to the parable of the wind—"If I uttered a figure drawn from earthly things, and even so ye did not believe, how will ye be able to learn sublimer things?"—Chrysostom takes it to mean Baptism, earthly either as accomplished on earth or in contrast with His own awful generation. "For though this generation (in Baptism) is Heavenly, yet when compared with that which is the true generation, that which is of the Father's essence, it is earthly."

St John v. 17. Chrysostom points out that when our Lord defends His disciples against the charge of breaking the Sabbath, He pleads the example of David their fellow-servant; when He defends Himself, He goes straight to the Father Himself, shewing His oneness with Him in honour, both because He claimed Him as Father in an especial sense (*ἰδιαζόντως*), and because He did the same works as the Father. Read in this light the words which follow, 'The Son can do nothing of Himself,' imply no subordination. They rather emphasize the absolute unity of Father and Son. "The Son cannot do anything at variance with, alien to, the Father." The equality is invariable and complete. A somewhat similar interpretation is given of the clause, 'The Father gave all judgment to the Son.' The word *gave* excludes the thought that the Son is unbegotten, or that there are two Fathers. The phrases 'He gave' all judgment to the Son,' 'He gave the Son to have life in Himself,' mean simply The Father begat the Son as Judge, as Life.

Socrates *H. E.* vii. 32 gives references. Chrysostom uses *ἀδελφότητος* of St James the writer of the Epistle (ii. 348 π). For Theodore's view see quotations in Swete ii. p. 310.

¹ Origen (Corderius *Catena*) distinguishes τὰ ἐπίγεια and τὰ γήινα, explaining the former ἀ τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἐτι διατρέβουσιν ἀνθρώποις δυνάμενα ὑπάρχειν τε καὶ νοηθῆναι.

² Chrysostom read *ἔδωκεν* (yet *δέδωκεν* apparently in 225 π). Afterwards he explains *ἔδωκεν* as meaning distinction of Person without inequality.

The Lord spoke in this way, Chrysostom urges, that His language might be made acceptable, and that He might prepare the way for loftier utterances¹. "If any man's duty is to speak highly of himself, he has a reasonable excuse for humbler language, if he uses it with an ulterior purpose (*οἰκονομίας τινὸς ἕνεκα*)." The converse, he adds, does not hold good.

St John vi. Chrysostom's treatment of the discourse at Capernaum is not wholly without confusion. In verse 35 Christ speaks of *Himself* for the first time as the Bread of Life. From this point all is explanation. The fundamental thought is the same, but the manner of the gift is unfolded. The Incarnation consummated on the Cross is brought more clearly into view.

Commenting on this verse, 'I am the Bread of Life,' Chrysostom says, "He is going now to enter on the subject of the bequest of the Mysteries. And first of all He speaks of His Godhead, I am the Bread of Life. For this does not apply to His Body, for it is of that He says at the close, 'And the Bread which I will give is my Flesh.' But for the present He speaks of His Godhead. For because of the Divine Word His Godhead is bread, as indeed this bread (of the Eucharist) because of the Spirit which descends upon it becomes Heavenly bread"². Later on he appears to hesitate. "He calls Himself the Bread of Life because He sustains our life, this present life and the future life. Hence He adds, 'He that eateth this bread shall live for ever.' By bread He means either His body or the saving doctrines and faith in Him; for both give force to the soul." A rhetorical passage at the close of one of these discourses shews that Chrysostom's application of this Chapter is essentially Eucharistic. His exposition however lacks coherence.

St John xiii—xvi. The chief use to which Chrysostom puts the last discourses of the Lord is controversial. He finds

¹ A similar explanation is given e.g. 232 D, 263 A, 290 B, 312 D, 381 B, 406 A, 448 E.

² In allusion to the *ἐπέκλησις*. Comp. i. 424 B and see Hammond *The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch* p. 15.

them an armoury against the assaults of Arians, Sabellians, Macedonians. Such treatment was perhaps inevitable. But controversy always impoverishes, not least when it is the ruling instinct of an interpreter of the Bible.

To examine one or two details of interpretation. On xiv. 20 'Ye shall know that I am in the Father, and ye in Me, and I in you,' Chrysostom characteristically notes, "In respect of the Father the expression involves Essence (i.e. unity in Essence); in respect of the Disciples the communion and help which is from God." Or we may take his interpretation of the words, 'The Father is greater than I' (xiv. 28). "The disciples knew not as yet of the Resurrection; their view of Christ was inadequate, but they held that the Father was great. The Lord says then, 'Though ye fear for me, thinking me unable to protect myself, yet ye should have rejoiced when I told you that I am going to the Father, seeing that I am departing to One who is greater than I and able to abolish all danger.' The words are words of condescension stooping to the weakness of the Disciples (comp. Matt. xxvi. 53). But if any one asserts that the Father is greater in the sense that He is the cause of the Son, I will not oppose this view. This however does not imply that the Son is of different essence." Thus Chrysostom admits the orthodoxy of the explanation which refers these words to the Divine Nature of the Son, if properly guarded. He himself prefers the interpretation which regards them from the point of view of the Disciples¹.

Though Chrysostom is not explicit, it is not hard to see the meaning which he attaches to the word Paraclete. Thus on xiv. 26, "Christ often calls Him the Paraclete because of the afflictions then pressing upon them"; and again on xv. 26, "To the intent that knowing all this they might not be troubled, mark what encouragement He adds (*οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*)

¹ Dr Westcott (*St John* p. 215) seems to have overlooked the first part of Chrysostom's note. He refers to a passage elsewhere (xii. 84 B) in which Chrysostom "appears to admit the reference to the humanity of Christ." I have not noticed any passage in Theodore dealing with the words.

παράκλησιν), 'when the Paraclete is come' "¹. 'I will send' is explained by the paraphrase, 'I will prepare you to receive Him,' and is represented as asserting difference of Person. 'He shall receive of mine,' is referred either to the gift of grace (ἐκ τοῦ χαρίσματος) which pertained to the Lord's Humanity, or to the knowledge common to the two Divine Persons (comp. xiv. 10). The phrase 'things to come' is made strictly equivalent to 'that which shall be in the future,' for mankind is greedy (λίχρον) of the knowledge of the future more than of all other things.

Lastly the interpretation of xvi. 21 may be noticed. "The Lord uses a comparison often employed by the Prophets. His meaning is this: Pangs shall seize you, but birth pangs become the cause of joy. He at once assures the Disciples of the Resurrection, and shews that to come forth from the grave is like coming forth from the womb into the bright light of day. Marvel not, the Lord means, that through grief I bring you to that which shall advantage you; for the mother attains motherhood through sorrow. He hints too at a mystical thought, that He loosed the pangs of death and hath caused a new man to be born. He says not *child* but *man*, for He hints at His own Resurrection. He says not *to her* but *into the world*, for He should be born, not to Death which travailed with Him, but to the Kingdom." Here Chrysostom characteristically attempts to combine two interpretations. The travelling woman represents first the Disciples, then the Grave. The first reference harmonizes with the general thought (comp. Apoc. xii).

St John xx. 11—17. There is no passage in the Gospel of St John where the harmonies are deeper and subtler than in the history of the scene which has called forth the ridicule of assailants of Christianity from Celsus to Renan, the Revelation to Mary Magdalene. Chrysostom finds a striking detail implied in the Record. Mary is speaking with the Angels of the Sepulchre: suddenly she turns round and sees, but does not know, the Lord. "It seems to me that Christ

¹ Comp. Theodore on xiv. 16: ἄλλον παράκλητον λέγει ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄλλου διδάσκαλον, παράκλητον λέγων τὴν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς διδασκαλίαν.

suddenly appeared behind her and struck the angels with wonder, and that they by posture and look shewed that they saw the Lord. This caused the woman to turn round. To them the Lord appeared thus in glory, but not so to the woman, that He might not fill her with amazement when first she saw Him. Of her He was seen in humbler fashion as aforetime." But what of the seemingly repellent words of the Lord, 'Take not hold of me'? Chrysostom puts aside the view of some who held that the words implied the grasp of a suppliant; "She asks for some spiritual grace, having with the Disciples heard Him saying 'I will ask the Father and He shall give you another Comforter.'" "I think," says Chrysostom, "that she wished still to be with Him as of old, and by reason of her joy she had no high view of what He was. Drawing her from such a desire to talk familiarly with Him, He raises her thoughts of Himself. Now to say, 'approach me not as aforetime,' would have seemed proud and haughty: but to say 'I have not yet ascended,' means the same thing and would not pain her. He shews that He is pressing and hastening thitherward, and Him who is going there she must not regard with the same thoughts as hitherto. When the Lord adds, 'my Father and your Father, my God and your God,' these words belong to His Human nature (τῆς οἰκονομίας ἐστὶ), for to ascend pertained to the flesh." It is perhaps the same delicacy of perception which, as will appear later, gives Chrysostom so great a power in dealing with some parts of the Pauline Epistles, that guides him to discern rightly the tone in which the Lord replied to the action of the first witness to His Resurrection.

In turning to the work on the Book of the Acts¹ which bears Chrysostom's name, a critical question demands a brief notice. A doubt has been felt as to the authenticity of these Homilies. The ground of this doubt is twofold. In the first place it is urged that the arrangement of these discourses.

¹ The ἐπιγραφή is elsewhere given by Chrysostom (iii. 54, 63) as πράξεις ἀποστόλων as in Codd. BD.

differs from that which Chrysostom elsewhere adopts. Having read a passage of this Book over and given a brief résumé of its meaning, he enters with some such phrase as, 'Let us consider afresh that which is written,' on a more detailed exposition. In the second place it is obviously true that the treatment of the subject is not so full and firm, nor the literary style of so high an order, as we find in the unquestioned works of Chrysostom. In reply to the first argument it may fairly be said that the prevailing ignorance of this Book, of which the opening sentence of the Exposition so bitterly complains¹, is a sufficient explanation of a difference of treatment. The second argument loses something of its force when it is noticed that these expositions were delivered at a time when the Archbishop was occupied with a great public crisis², and, his own troubles so soon succeeding, they may well be thought to lack his revision and corrections.

Besides these there are other considerations. These Homilies are rich in allusions to the customs and life of the time. We expect a forgery to be cautious and therefore colourless, or else to betray itself by inconsistencies. Again, the author represents himself as the Archbishop³; and it may be fairly

¹ πολλοῖς τοῦτ' ὅτι βιβλίον, οὐδ' ὅτι ἐνὶ γνώριμόν ἐστιν, οὔτε αὐτὸ, οὔτε ὁ γράψας αὐτὸ καὶ συνθεὶς (comp. iii. 54).

² The indications of date are (1) Chrysostom had been some three years in Constantinople (τριαετὴν ἔχομεν 335 D), having been taken from Antioch early in 398; (2) he refers (311 C) to an earthquake in the previous year; this appears to have taken place in the year 400, or as Tillemont thinks in 399; (3) the course began to be delivered at the Easter season (10 C, 13 C); (4) the preacher speaks of the gathering of personal dangers, e.g. καθέλτε με ταυτησι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ μένοντα μὴ περιβάλλετε κινδύνους 68 A, comp. 69 A. The course may have begun in the spring of 400, during the usurpation of Gainas, and about the time when the Synod assembled in which the charge against Antoninus Bishop of Ephesus was brought forward. This would leave time for its completion before Chrysostom left Constantinople for Asia early in 401. The Homilies are 55 in number, and the preacher implies that they were delivered once or twice in each week (διὰ τριῶν πολλὰκις ἡμερῶν ἢ δι' ἑπτὰ τοῦτο ποιούντες 335 D).

³ Thus he speaks of (1) his name John: οὐκ εἰμι Ἰωάννης ἀλλὰ καλοῦμαι 395 D; (2) his position as Bishop in the Imperial City 68 A, 79 C. (See Savil's Preface.)

pleaded that any writer who could deal with the vices of the time as forcibly as the author of these sermons undoubtedly does, would not have deserted the usual method of Chrysostom, nor contented himself with so unambitious an imitation of his manner. On the whole it is not unlikely that these Homilies represent with more or less accuracy the substance, however they fail to preserve the form, of Chrysostom's interpretation of the Acts¹.

The general character of the Book has seldom been more accurately described than here. "The Gospels are a history of what the Christ did and said; the Acts of what the other Paraclete did and said." From another point of view the Book is said to portray the historical fulfilment of the Lord's promise, 'Greater works than these shall ye do,' and of His prophecy, 'Ye shall be brought before governors and kings.' The main lines of the Apostolic teaching are accurately laid down. The Apostles say but little directly of the Divinity of the Lord. They, like Christ Himself, are anxious above all to shew that He had come from the Father. For them the proof of this, on which they can raise their converts to a loftier height, lies in the closing facts of the Gospel history, the Resurrection² and the Ascension. The preacher, as he traces out the story of their work, emphasises the providential ordering of every detail. The whole is the sure proof of a Divine *οἰκονομία* (ix. 2 A, 9 B, 212 B).

¹ Cassiodorus about a century after Chrysostom's death mentions these 55 Homilies as Chrysostom's (quoted in *Benedictine Preface*). Erasmus in a well-known letter to Tonstal says of the translation of these Homilies which he had undertaken, "cujus operae me poenituit, cum nihil hic viderem Chrysostomi...Ebrius ac stertens scriberem meliora. Habet frigidos sensiculos, nec eos satis commode potest explicare" (quoted by Savil). The latest successor of Erasmus' correspondent echoes in more measured terms this suspicion (Bp. Lightfoot *Galatians* p. 280).

² καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἐστὶ τοῦτὶ τὸ βιβλίον, ἀπόδειξις ἀναστάσεως (3 B, comp. 27 D).

CHAPTER V.

CHRYSOStOM AS AN INTERPRETER OF ST PAUL'S EPISTLES.

THE enthusiasm of sympathy is Chrysostom's guide in his interpretation of St Paul's Epistles. "I do not understand the Apostle," the preacher says in one passage, "by reason of any intellectual ability or acuteness of my own, but because I keep continually in his company and love him much." In St Paul's words he recognises 'a voice very dear,' which is yet the call of a 'spiritual trumpet' (ix. 425 A). As we investigate details of interpretation we shall see how the Commentator catches something of the free and ardent spirit of his author; how he understands with the intuition of a kindred nature the undercurrents of emotion, the rapid changes of thought and feeling, which characterize St Paul's letters. But first it will be well to collect a few passages from Chrysostom dealing with more general questions.

And first it must be admitted that Chrysostom takes an altogether exaggerated view of St Paul's want of literary culture. In this respect he ranks him with the earlier Apostles—"Nothing could be more ignorant than Peter, nothing ruder than Paul" (ix. 428 E, comp. 2 Cor. xi. 6). "I once heard," he says elsewhere, "a Christian disputing with a Greek in a very absurd fashion. Each refuted the position which was proper to himself. The Greek tried to shew that Paul was unlearned and rude, and the Christian in his simplicity spared no pains to prove that Paul was more learned than Plato. Thus the Greek gained the victory. For had Paul been more learned than Plato, many would

doubtless object that not by grace, but by eloquence, *did he* prevail. But if Paul was uncultured and yet *vanquished* Plato, his victory is plainly decisive. The unlettered *took* the disciples of the philosopher one and all, and *brought them* over to his side" (x. 20 B). No less striking and curious is the contrast which in commenting on St Paul's last *Epistle* Chrysostom draws between the lonely prisoner and the reigning Caesar. St Paul is there described as a "leather worker, a poor man, unversed in worldly learning, *only able to speak Hebrew*, a language despised by all men, and most of all by Italians" (xi. 682 E). The Apostle's training at the feet of Gamaliel is but slightly touched upon (e.g. x. 41 D, xi. 563 E, xii. 1 c). Chrysostom habitually describes St Paul as having been once a petty tradesman. "His mind was once poor and mean, absorbed in matters pertaining to contracts and skins" (xii. 7 D). Such language is partly due to the preacher's desire to give point to rhetorical contrasts, partly to his remarkable ignorance of Jewish customs. If he notices that St Paul on two occasions quotes from heathen poets (xi. 744 D), and insists on his deep knowledge of the Jewish Law as a guarantee against a mistaken quotation (1 Cor. ii. 9), the fact remains that he overlooks the great distance in culture and social position between Saul of Tarsus and the Lord's personal followers. So far Chrysostom approaches St Paul's writings with a wrong estimate of their human side¹. But this very disparagement of the one side, in Chrysostom's opinion, brings into strong relief the other, the Divine side. The power of the Spirit,

¹ In St Paul's ignorance of Greek Chrysostom finds an explanation (1) of *ἐν δόλῳ* and St Paul's answer (Acts xxvi. 28). *οὐκ ἐνόησεν ὁ Παῦλος τί ἐστὶν ἐν δόλῳ ἀλλ' ἐνόμισεν ὅτι ἐξ δόλου· διὸ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀποκρίνεται· οὕτως ἰδιώτης ἦν* (ix. 393 c); above (391 A) he gives the explanation *παρὰ μικρόν*; (2) of the ungainliness of St Paul's characters, for so he interprets *πληκτοὺς γράμμασι* Gal. vi. 11;—*τὴν ἀμορφίαν τῶν γραμμάτων...οὐδὲ ἀριστα γράφειν εἰδώς*. So Theodore explains a broken construction in 1 Tim. i. 3 sq., *Beato Paulo consuete nullum loquelaе studium adhibente...Nam nec disciplinam dicendi studuerat*. To turn to another point, Chrysostom is fond of disparaging the Philosophers, especially Plato, e.g. vii. 8 B, (*δαίμονες γὰρ ταῦτα διηγόμενοι* 11 A), ix. 443 B, 581 D, xi. 739 F. Comp. Kihn *Die Bedeutung* p. 26.

as he is never tired of urging, alone explains the achievements of so poor an instrument. The words of this illiterate tent-maker are invested with the awfulness of a superhuman majesty, and pass beyond the narrow limits of the occasion which first called them forth.

Chrysostom's view on these points does not preclude him from carefully treating the characteristics of the Epistles. When an Epistle is taken in hand, the opening sermon commonly forms a brief introduction.

Thus the date of the several Letters is discussed. Chrysostom warns his hearers that the common is not the true order; the Epistle to the Romans is not the earliest Epistle (ix. 427 D). In his attempt to determine the chronology he appeals to internal evidence. He decides, for example, that the Corinthian Epistles are earlier than that to the Romans from a comparison of Rom. xv. 25, 26 with 1 Cor. xvi. 4; writing to the Romans St Paul speaks of his journey to Jerusalem as fixed (ix. 426 D). It is a true instinct which makes him conjecture that the Galatian Epistle was written before the Roman. The Epistles of the first captivity are parted off from the single Epistle of the second, and in the interval a place is found for 1 Timothy, Titus, and lastly the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 190 B, 658 B, 730 B, xii. 2 E). The intrinsic importance of such investigations is distinctly recognised. "Let no one deem this an unnecessary task, nor such a discussion a piece of superfluous ingenuity. For the date of the Epistles contributes not a little to the solution of questions. For when I see the Apostle writing to the Romans with great condescension (xiv. 1, 2), and to the Colossians on the same matter with great plainness of speech, (ii. 20 sq.), I can only account for the difference by the lapse of time" (ix. 427 E).

Closely connected with the question of time is that of place. This point is not overlooked in Chrysostom's expositions. Thus, in the case of Corinth, an appeal is made to classical literature to shew its ancient reputation for wealth. Its trade, the number of its rhetoricians and philosophers, are also noticed. "And I do not mention these points," continues

the preacher, "from affectation, or to make a display of learning: they contribute towards the understanding of the argument of the Epistle" (x. 1). In one case at least Chrysostom curiously misinterprets the bearing of facts of this kind. While he recognises a Greek element in the Church of the Capital, he is so carried away by the name of Rome that he fancies the letter addressed to men "elated with worldly pride by reason of their wealth, their Empire, their victories." Commenting for example on the words, 'Thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest,' he says, "these words he directs against the rulers (*πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχοντας*); for the City at that time had gotten the Empire over the whole world. He gives them therefore early warning; When thou condemnest the adulterer, and art thyself an adulterer, though no man goeth to law with thee, in thy sentence against the guilty thou pronouncest doom upon thyself." The mistake is only emphasised when Chrysostom interprets 'whosoever' as implying that the Apostle is speaking not to rulers alone, but also to private persons and to subjects¹.

But there are larger considerations which a commentator must bring into clear relief if he would successfully grapple with details of interpretation. Chrysostom truly notes that St Paul always "wrote his letters with some special motive" (ix. 428 B). Round this central question of purpose other problems are grouped, offering a wide field for delicate discrimination. Chrysostom treats this large subject in the case of each Epistle, of course with varying success.

Thus Chrysostom begins his exposition of the Galatian Epistle by noting that the Preface is marked "by a tone of deep anger and of dignity, and not the Preface only, but one might say the whole letter." The reasons for the Apostle's strong feeling are then analysed. First there is the interested movement of Jewish teachers: secondly their appeal to 'those who were with Peter and James and John' against a

¹ ix. 448 B (*καὶ πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἀποτείνεσθαι μοι δοκεῖ*), 433 E, 444 C, 461 D, 464 C. Chrysostom is wrong (except from a relative point of view) in speaking of the Church at Rome as *νέφυτος* (448 E, 703 C).

solitary upstart of yesterday (*χθὲς καὶ σήμερον ἐφάνη*): thirdly their charge of inconsistency against the Apostle. Hence the opening words of strong self-assertion, 'Paul an Apostle, not from men, neither through men.' Again, Chrysostom holding the Epistle to the Hebrews to have been written by St Paul, works out the circumstances under which he supposes the letter to have been written. As the Apostle of the Gentiles St Paul was held in special abhorrence by two classes of men, by the unbelieving Jews, as a base deserter; by the believing Jews, as the preacher among the nations of an undiluted (*καθαρῶς*) Christianity. Nevertheless he writes to the Jews of Jerusalem and Palestine, just as he baptized though not sent to baptize (1 Cor. i. 17); but he refrains from prefacing his letter with his name; by this omission he would cunningly catch their ear (*ἐσοφίστατο...τὴν ἀκρόασιν* ix. 429 D). Two facts are now brought into prominence; first, the Apostle's early and constant solicitude for the suffering Hebrew Christians (1 Thess. ii. 14); secondly their aggravated trial of persecution in those later days. As Jews they had been taught that rewards and punishments would be rendered in this life. Their hopes remained unfulfilled, and they were wasted (*τεταριχυμένοι*) and despairing (vi. 10, x. 37, xii. 8, 12). For these sorrows the Apostle opens out a threefold consolation: in the sufferings of the Christ (John xv. 20): in the future reward: in the light which their fathers' distresses in old time cast upon their own.

To pass to another point, Chrysostom has much of interest on the general structure, and on a comparative view, of the Epistles.

The Epistles are conformed to a common type. St Paul's name and the mention of his apostolic office stand in the forefront of all the Epistles but one (ix. 429 D, xi. 549 A). They close with a salutation in the Apostle's own hand (xi. 510 c), with the single exception of the Galatian Epistle. This Chrysostom supposes to have been throughout in the ill-formed characters of St Paul (Gal. vi. 11). The normal division into a doctrinal and into a practical section is

noticed. Chrysostom however thinks that this rule is broken in the Galatian Epistle, where St Paul in his view returns in v. 13 to a doctrinal discussion; also in the Roman Epistle, where he passes and repasses from one to the other to make his discourse more palatable to his correspondents. In the First Epistle to Corinth he notices that the Apostle breaks off from doctrinal subjects at the end of Chapter xv, and accounts for his then treating only of the duty of almsgiving by the fact that the first part of the letter had virtually dealt with other questions of morality.

Much is to be learned from a careful comparison of Epistles. Thus as to Epistles which are obviously allied to each other, Chrysostom compares the gentler tone of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians with the sterner spirit of the Second. 'We beseech you, brethren, that ye increase more and more' in the First is contrasted with 'We command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ' in the Second (xi. 538 D). The reverse is the case with the two letters to the Corinthians (x. 455 E). Yet here Chrysostom points out the vehemence of one passage of the Second Epistle (x. 12) compared with the suspended judgment of the First (iv. 21). In the former Epistle the subjects which called forth great severity are dealt with first; in the later the Apostle begins with gentleness but speaks in tones of earnest rebuke before its close (x. 158 E)¹. The results of this comparative view are even more striking when Epistles from different groups are placed side by side. Chrysostom, for example, contrasts St Paul's treatment of the Resurrection when writing to the Thessalonians and when later writing to the Corinthians. The Thessalonians sorrowed while the Corinthians doubted: the Apostle therefore comforts in the one case and argues in the other (xi. 473 B). Or again, St Paul's stern rebukes of the Galatians are contrasted with his admonitions addressed to the Colossians. Commonly he first commends anything worthy of praise, so drawing his hearer to himself, and freeing his sternness from any suspicion

¹ This passage seems to support the omission of *πρωτέρα* in xi. 334 D with one MS.

of ill will. Of this the Colossian Epistle is an example. It is otherwise with the Galatian letter. Here he has no successes on their part to record; his impeachment of them is overwhelming; he starts with a term of reproach, 'I marvel' (xi. 334 D, comp. 258 C). Such examples might be multiplied, but these are sufficient to shew that Chrysostom makes a genuine, and in the main a successful, attempt to trace the delicate variations of tone and feeling which give to St Paul's Epistles an enduring life and meaning.

In the details of exposition Chrysostom is careful to follow two main rules. Neither is of course formally enunciated. The fact that they find incidental expression is all the clearer proof that they have gained a hold on the interpreter's mind.

The first rule is put thus: "We must not examine the words as bare words, else many absurdities will follow, nor must we investigate the language by itself, but we must mark the mind of the writer" (x. 675 A). This Canon of Interpretation Chrysostom illustrates by the usages of common life. If men refused to regard the intention of their neighbour's words, numberless misunderstandings would arise. Such neglect in respect to men's actions would confuse the skill of the physician with the violence of the robber. The special passage which calls out these remarks is that in which St Paul disclaims connexion with those who had been Apostles before him (Gal. i. 15 sq.). Such a claim might well cause offence, did we not remember the attacks made on St Paul by his Jewish opponents. The rule is capable of varied application. It is an arbiter between conflicting interpretations. Chrysostom, for example, is dealing with the difficult passage (Rom. v. 13) 'Until the law sin was in the world (*ἄχρι γὰρ νόμου ἁμαρτία ἦν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*)'. Some think that the Apostle meant here the period previous to the giving of the law, the days of Abel and onward to the birth of Moses. What then was the sin which reigned? The sin in Paradise, say some. But what of the words which follow, 'Sin is not reckoned when there

is no law'? Some, whom Chrysostom describes as 'our friends (οἱ τὰ ἡμέτερα εἰρηκότες),' supposed that the Apostle was arguing against the Jews to the disparagement of the law. Unless sin exists apart from the law, how is it that death destroyed all men before the law? "But in my opinion," he continues, "that which shall now be stated has better reason, and is *in harmony with the Apostle's thought*. After the law had been given, the sin which came of its transgression prevailed *as long as* there was law: for sin cannot exist when there is not law. Since then all before the law died, it is plain that the sin in question is the sin which pertains, not to the transgression of the law, but to the disobedience of Adam"¹.

Again, this rule checks unwarrantable conclusions. The words, 'That which I do I know not' (Rom. vii. 15) must not be misunderstood. Chrysostom will make no truce with Socrates' teaching. "No one ever sinned in ignorance. Unless we interpret these words with proper caution and *continued reference to the Apostle's aim*, innumerable absurdities will follow. 'I know not' means 'I am beclouded; I am carried off my feet, tripped up'; just as we say 'Somehow so and so quite carried me off my feet (συνήρπασεν),' not pleading ignorance as an excuse, but indicating some fraud or trick." Or again, such a rule prevents words used relatively

¹ Chrysostom's exposition has a characteristic obscurity. Interpretations are not kept distinct. The premises of the verse (13), i.e. (a) the presence of sin in the world before the Mosaic Law (proved in v. 14); (b) the necessity of law for the imputation of sin, might lead to one of two conclusions, viz. (1) the enactment of another law in the world prior to the Mosaic Law; (2) the continued influence of the one sin ex hypothesi already committed. Chrysostom chooses the latter, those whom he calls οἱ τὰ ἡμέτερα εἰρηκότες take the former alternative. Under this designation Chrysostom appears to refer (among others perhaps) to his master Diodore. See the fragment (Cramer iv. p. 45) ποῖον οὖν νόμον ἐμφαίνει; τὸν φυσικὸν καθ' ὃν κινούμεθα διακρίνοντας τὰ βελτίονα καὶ τὰ χείρονα. Theodore substantially repeats this view (νόμον δὲ νῦν καλεῖ τὴν ἡγνῶτα δὴποτε διάκρισιν, εἶτε ἀπὸ φύσεως εἶτε ἀπὸ θέσεως ἐγγνωμένην), and so Pelagius (naturalem iterum ostendit legem, per quam praevaricatus est Cain). Theodore emphasises a blunder into which Chrysostom seems to fall, making ἄχρι νόμου = ἕως τοῦ τέλους τοῦ νόμου (ἕως ὃ νόμος ἐκράτει, εἶχεν ἡ ἀμαρτία τὸ κράτος), and aggravates the error of Diodore &c. saying bluntly, "not for the sin of the first man (τοῦ πρωτότοκου), but for his own, doth each man receive the doom of death."

from being interpreted absolutely. Thus of the passage, 'By their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles, for to provoke them to jealousy' (Rom. xi. 11), Chrysostom says, "We must not give a bare hearing to the words, but *must get an insight into the sentiment and aim of the speaker*. The Apostle's purpose in the present case is to pluck down the pride which his preceding argument might have bred in the Gentiles; for so they would the better remain steadfast in the faith, while the Jews set free from their despair would be the readier to embrace the grace (of the Gospel)...Nor must we wonder if St Paul represents the eventual consequence as the primary design." A similar case is 1 Cor. viii. 4 *οἶδαμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ*. St Paul has in mind two classes of persons. Some of dull intellect know of nothing beyond the material of the idol, the wood or stone. Others, pluming themselves on their superior wisdom, hold that spiritual powers dwell in the outward shapes. To the first the Apostle says that the idol is nothing; to the second, 'There is no God but one.' "You see," he continues, "St Paul does not teach doctrine absolutely, but in relation to a difference which he finds among those without. For we must always observe carefully whether the Apostle states a thing absolutely (*ἀπολελυμένως*) or from a special position towards certain persons. For this contributes very largely towards our accuracy in doctrine and our apprehension of his words."

The second rule is little more than a special application of the first. A close attention to the context will illuminate ✓ a difficult paragraph or phrase. "Paul himself interprets his meaning in the words which follow" (ix. 531 D). The phrase, 'that the body of sin might be done away,' is defined by the words, 'that we should no longer be in bondage to sin.' Some thought that St Paul's language about marriage (1 Cor. vii. 1 sq.) was addressed to priests only. "For my own part," Chrysostom replies, "judging from what follows, I should say that St Paul's admonition is general."

These Canons of Interpretation lead us to expect a constant effort on Chrysostom's part to trace the thread of thought and purpose which especially in the more argumen-

tative Epistles binds the several parts together. This he effects by short summaries of the argument at the turning points of thought. The homiletic character of his expositions, while it offered at the beginning of each sermon a convenient opportunity for such summaries, at the same time often accounts for their absence. Some striking thought suggests itself to the preacher with which to catch or to keep the attention of his hearers; to this the first place is given; the stream of rhetoric carries him away, and the more commonplace task of indicating the sequence of thought is forgotten. As a whole Chrysostom's Homilies on the Ephesian Epistle may be taken as an instance of this defect.

We now proceed to examine in detail Chrysostom's interpretation of some important passages.

Philippians ii. 6—11. There are few passages in the New Testament more crucial than this. Every phrase, every word, is felt to be instinct with meaning. Chrysostom divides his commentary into two parts. First he refutes heretics: secondly he unfolds his own interpretation. To deal with the first point, here is an epitome of all that can be said in answer to every depravation of the true doctrine of the Lord's Person. Here St Paul by one decisive blow overthrows the followers of Valentinus, of Marcion, of Manes, of Sabellius, of Paul of Samosata, of Arius, of Marcellus and Photinus, of Sophronius, of Apollinaris. Perhaps it was impossible for an orthodox preacher at the close of the 4th century not to put the controversial view in the forefront. The Arian heresy has the most painful interest for the commentator. The Arian gloss on the passage according to Chrysostom ran thus: *θεὸς ὦν ἐλάττων οὐχ ἥρπασε τὸ εἶναι ἴσα τῷ θεῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ μείζονι*. To this paraphrase and the argument implied, viz. that, as no one can be conceived of as seizing a position already his, Christ is not truly God, Chrysostom's reply is threefold. (1) The analogy of Scripture forbids such an interpretation. The word *Great* applied to God in Scripture, as often in the Psalms, is used absolutely: there is no correlative term. Further Chrysostom quotes Titus ii. 13 as shewing con-

clusively that the words $\delta \muέγας \thetaεός$ are used of the Son. (2) The expression itself forbids it. The less cannot seize an equality with the greater. (3) The argument forbids it. The Arian gloss would put St Paul's argument on a level with such an exhortation as this: 'Be humble, for so and so who is a slave did not rise up against his master: imitate him.' Further, the Apostolic injunction, 'Each *counting* other better than himself,' shews that he starts from cases where no difference in rank exists (contrast Heb. xiii. 17).

The refutation of the Arian interpretation prepares the way for Chrysostom's own view. The following points are emphasised. (1) The word $\iotaπάρχων$, to be carefully distinguished from $γενόμενος$, is a key-word. It is to be compared with $ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν$ (Exod. iii. 14). (2) The term $μορφή$ implies unchangeableness ($τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον$). A being of one nature cannot have the form which belongs to another nature. A man, for example, cannot take the form of an angel, nor a brute that of a man. Further, though in our being there are many elements, and the form signifies but one of these, the body, yet the Nature of God is simple and uncompounded, and the term $μορφή$ can only apply to the Essence of the Deity. (3) The anarthrous $\thetaεοῦ$ need cause no difficulty, for the context supplies an undoubted instance of the anarthrous $\thetaεός$ used of the Father. (4) The term $ἀρπαγμός$ according to Chrysostom is used *in malam partem*, meaning an unjust acquisition taken by fraud or violence. Such a possession must be ever from its very nature carefully guarded and tenaciously clung to. Absalom, for example, seized despotic power, and then dared not lay it aside. "The tyrant fears in war to put away his purple robe: the lawful Sovereign does so with all confidence, for $οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἔχει τὴν ἀρχήν$. So it is with the Son. Equality with God is essentially by nature His." (5) The phrases, 'He humbled Himself,' 'He emptied Himself,' prove the voluntariness of His condescension. (6) The Marcionites catch at the phrase $ἐν ὁμοιώματι$ as shewing the unreality of the Lord's Humanity. 'He clothed Himself,' say they, 'with a shadow.' But Chrysostom points out that they are confusing it with the kindred word $εἰδωλον$;

ἀνθρώπου γὰρ ὁμοίωμα ἄνθρωπος ἕτερος. Further, such passages as John i. 14, Rom. viii. 3 are a sufficient refutation. A similarly false conclusion is based on the expressions which follow—*σχήματι, ὡς ἄνθρωπος.* Here Chrysostom insists on the definiteness of the words *μορφὴν δούλου λαβών.* If a reference to the Lord's action in washing the disciples' feet is thought to satisfy the requirements of the phrase, *μορφή* is made equivalent to *ἔργον*, an absurd assumption. The expression *ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων* is explained when we remember that we consist of soul and body; He was God and soul and body. The Divine Word was not transformed into a man, nor was the Essence changed; hence St Paul says *ὡς ἄνθρωπος*, though elsewhere (1 Tim. ii. 5) he does not hesitate to use the simple *ἄνθρωπος* in this connexion. Such are the main points of the discussion. The exhortation with which it closes has a painful interest in the light of controversies soon to divide the Church: *τοῦτο ἐγένετο, τοῦτο ἔλαβεν· ἐκεῖνο ὑπῆρχε. μὴ δὴ συγχέωμεν, μηδὲ διίστάμεν. εἰς θεός, εἰς Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. τὸ δὲ, εἰς, ὅταν εἴπω, ἔνωσιν λέγω, οὐ σύγχυσιν, τῆς φύσεως ταύτης εἰς ἐκείνην [μὴ] μεταπεσούσης ἀλλὰ ἡνωμένης¹.*

Colossians i. 15—18. Chrysostom's interpretation of this very important theological passage is not free from a certain haziness, and it is difficult in a brief analysis to represent his meaning with complete certainty. The following however appear to be the main points. (1) The essential idea of the word *εἰκών*, Chrysostom urges, is unchanging unvarying likeness. If the word is applied to men in reference to God, he would have us notice that it is never used to express the relation of angels to God; the meanness of human nature is a sufficient safeguard against misconception. From this view of the word two important results flow. (a) The image of Him Who is invisible must Himself also be invisible. (b) The image of the Creator cannot be a creature. (2) Next the phrase *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* is taken in hand. (a) In answer to the Arian conclusion as to the

¹ The insertion of the negative seems necessary to the sense: it may easily have fallen out before the following word (*μετα*-).

nature of the Son, *ἰδοὺ ἔκτισται*, Chrysostom notices that the word is not *πρωτόκτιστος* but *πρωτότοκος*. Further, if the word *πρωτότοκος* is put to this use, we must argue that He is a brother in respect to all things, and so rob Him of His position as Creator and of all dignity and preeminence. For (according to the rejected interpretation) the word *πρωτότοκος* has no reference to dignity, but only implies priority in time. (b) The same word is again used in the context, *πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, here too pointing to something more than simple priority; else the phrase would have been *τῶν νεκρῶν*, not *ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*. He is not only *πρῶτος* but *τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀπαρχή*. (3) Chrysostom rightly emphasises the reference to angels in the words which follow. The Lord is before them, because they have been created in (i.e. through) Him. But the Apostle goes further. He adds *εἰς αὐτόν*, implying that the being of all things hangs on Him. The mere tendency of things unto Him is sufficient to hold and rivet them together. So He is the Firstborn of Creation in the sense of being its *foundation*, St Paul's use of the phrase elsewhere (1 Cor. iii. 10) limiting its reference to activity as distinguished from Essence. 'He is before all things':—'This befits God.' (4) St Paul passes now from the dignity of the Son to speak of His love for man. 'He is the Head of the body, the Church.' St Paul does not here as in the Ephesian Epistle use the word *πλήρωμα*, because he wishes to bring out Christ's near relationship with us. (5) *ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων*. So is He first in generation. To insist on this is St Paul's great object. For thence it follows that He existed before the angels and wrought their works, because they did but follow His commands. Further, it is very remarkable, Chrysostom points out, that the Apostle lays stress on proving Him first in the later generation, though elsewhere he speaks of Adam as first. Here however he takes the Church as the representative of the whole race: for He is first of the Church, and, as of Creation, so according to the flesh first of men. What then is the meaning of *πρωτότοκος* in v. 18? Does he mean, 'He who was created

first,' or, 'He who rose before all,' just as in the former place he meant 'He who is before all'? Here the Apostle defines his meaning by adding the word ἀπαρχή¹. As He is, so are the rest.

Such, I believe, is a fair summary of Chrysostom's discussion of a passage of unusual importance and difficulty. If it must be allowed that the lines of his exposition are not clearly and sharply drawn, that great questions are left without a distinct answer, it will be remembered that the treatment of the passage forms part of a popular homily².

¹ Chrysostom reads here *ὅς ἐστιν ἀπαρχή, πρωτότοκος κ.τ.λ.* In this he is followed, as so often, by Ecumenius. A few Cursives have the same reading. His note on the word is worth remark: *καθάπερ ἐπὶ καρποῦ τινος, ... δευτέρως δὲ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἡγήσατο καὶ ὥσπερ θυσίαν προσήνεγκε.*

² A full discussion of the Patristic interpretation of the passage will be found in Bp. Lightfoot's *Colossians* and in Dr Swete's *Theodore* in loco. A few points may be briefly mentioned. (1) Theodore, like Pelagius (*primogenitus secundum assumpti hominis formam non tempore sed honore*), interprets the whole passage of the *homo susceptus* (*de suscepto homine disputat, quasi de primitiis nostris*). Chrysostom on the other hand, as seems to be shewn by the whole tone of his remarks, refers *ἐκὼν* and *πρωτότοκος* to the Divine nature of the Lord. (2) Theodore condemns those who held that the *ἐκὼν* is invisible: *neque illud prospexerunt, quoniam omnis imago, dum ipsa videtur, illud ostendit quod non videtur.* (3) τὰ πάντα and ἐν αὐτῷ Theodore refers to the *homo susceptus* and to ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ γενομένη ἀνάγκη; the δὲ αὐτοῦ to the Word and to His work in the Creation of the Universe. (4) Dr Swete thinks Chrysostom and Theodore at variance in their interpretation of *πρωτότοκος*, the former referring it to time, the latter to dignity (p. 264, n. 11). Dr Swete takes the words (344 A) τὸ γὰρ πρωτότοκος οὐχὶ ἀξίας... ἀλλὰ χρόνου μόνον as giving Chrysostom's own view; I venture to think wrongly. They appear to form part of the view which Chrysostom rejects, as I have given the passage in the text above; for Chrysostom begins the discussion by saying (343 B) *περὶ τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀξίας διαλεγόμενος*: he marks the turning point with the summary *ἐκὼν περὶ τῆς ἀξίας λέγει λοιπὸν καὶ περὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας*. He would perhaps have allowed the two notions of priority and preeminence, the latter having the greater emphasis. It should be added however that Theodoret has the gloss, *πρωτότοκον, τούτέστι, πρῶτον.* (5) In 345 E I am constrained to take the words *ὁ πρῶτος κτισθεὶς ἢ ὁ πρὸ πάντων ἀναστὰς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκεῖ, ὁ πρὸ πάντων ὢν* as a question. The gloss *ὁ πρ. κτ.* has been already rejected as an equivalent for *πρωτότοκος*. Will any attempt be made to reintroduce it here?

Very briefly I note Chrysostom's interpretation of two other theological passages. (1) 1 Cor. xi. 3, (a) *παντὸς ἀνδρός* is restricted to the faithful (so Theodore and Theodoret). (b) *κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ χριστοῦ ὁ θεός*. If heretics try to prove thence *ἐλάττωσις τις*, Chrysostom claims thence to shew that *ὁμοούσιος*

Romans ix. 14—23. We take next a passage which deals with the mysterious subject of God's purpose in regard to men. The main scope of the paragraph Chrysostom gives thus—"St Paul's great object is to prove by each word that God only knows those who are worthy (of His favour), that no man knows them, howsoever any may think that he knows, but that man's award often miserably fails." The discussion springs from a reference which St Paul made to God's choice of Jacob and His rejection of Esau before their birth. It was the virtue of the one, the evil of the other, alike foreseen by God and unknown to men, which discriminated between them. Predestination is pre-vision. "He who knoweth the secrets of the heart seeth the pearl albeit lying in the mire: all others He passeth by: at the fair beauty of this He marvelleth and chooseth it: He addeth His own grace to the natural nobility of purpose, and so maketh the man approved"¹. If St Paul adduces the parallel case in Exod. xxxiii. 19—all the Israelites were involved in one sin, but all were not punished—Chrysostom would have us note the exact way in which it is introduced, 'He saith to Moses.' If Moses could not understand these things, how should we? But further St Paul builds up the lofty argument, and with it the transcendent difficulty in verses 15—19. At length the question can be no longer kept back, 'Why doth He still find fault? For who withstandeth His will?' Here, as Chrysostom urges, the argument becomes twofold. The Apostle "plucks up the thorns before he plants his seed." He defers his solution of the problem till he has stopped the mouth of the caviller.

ὁ υἱὸς τῷ πατρὶ: if they deduce *ὅτι ἀρχεται*, he answers *τῆς οἰκονομίας δεχομένης τὸ λεχθέν* (so Severian ap. Cramer). Presently he adds *ἐκλεπτέον κατὰ τὸ αἴτιον*. (2) Hebrews i. 3, (a) *ἀπαύγασμα...ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἀπαθῶς, ὅτι οὐ μειωθέντος*. (b) *χαρακτὴρ κ.τ.λ. ὥσπερ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ἐνυπόστατος, οὐδενὸς δεόμενος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ υἱός—τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον δεικνὺς τοῦτό φησι*.

¹ Comp. Pelagius on v. 15: *Illius miserebor quem praescivi posse misericordiam promereri, ut jam tunc illius sim misertus*; and Theodore on v. 13: "God chooseth those whom He thinks will be worthy of His choice, who being first counted worthy of His grace are then able to contribute their part, exhibiting a moral purpose of their own answering to His grace."

(1) He restrains persistent curiosity, not asserting that a solution is impossible, but that such questions are unlawful. 'Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?' He frightens and cows his opponent. At this point the illustration of the potter and the clay is brought in. Chrysostom's comment on it is characteristic. The Apostle "hereby does not reject free will, but he shews the point to which obedience to God must go. For so far from speaking or imagining anything against God, we must be like the lifeless clay yielding itself to the potter's hands and taking what shape soever he wills. The lesson of extreme obedience and silent submission is indeed the one object of the illustration. And we must always remember that we should not take illustrations as applicable in every point, but should select in them what is to the purpose, for the sake of which they are adduced, and then pass by the rest." As to the words which follow—"Or hath not the potter a right over the clay...?"—St Paul is not discussing any question of creation or any coercion of man's will, but God's sovereign power over, and the divers forms of, His dealings with men. If the words be applied to man's will, then God is creator of good and evil alike, and man is rid of all responsibility. Further, the Apostle will thus be made to contradict himself, seeing that everywhere he gives the palm of victory to man's moral purpose. He simply teaches perfect patience, and deprecates the disposition which calls God to account. "For as the potter from one lump makes what vessels he will, and none contradicts, so if out of one and the self-same family God honours some and punishes others, trouble not thyself: only worship, and like the clay yield thyself to the will of Him that ordereth all things." Further, as the honour and dishonour are not due to the potter, but to the use to which the vessels are put, so with men all depends on their moral purpose¹.

¹ There is a note on this passage in Cramer's *Catena* (iv. p. 346) marked "Δᾶ, (sic)" which I think from its substance may well be Diodore's. If so, Chrysostom got this thought from his master: οὐκ αὐτὸς (ὁ θεὸς) τίμα κατὰ σκευάσει ἢ ἄτιμα· ἀλλ' ἡ οἰκία ἐκάστου προαίρεσις. He then quotes 2 Tim. ii.

(2) At this point, according to Chrysostom's analysis, St Paul passes to the solution of the problem. 'What if God, willing to shew His wrath...?' Chrysostom illustrates the Apostle's meaning by the special case of Pharaoh. "Pharaoh was a vessel of wrath, that is, a man who kindled God's anger by his own hardness; for though God bore long with him, yet he remained unreformed. So the Apostle calls him 'a vessel of wrath fitted for destruction,' that is, fitted by his own very self (*οἰκοθεν καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ*)¹. For God left nothing undone which could reform him, nor he anything which could destroy himself and rob himself of forgiveness. Yet God knowing all this 'endured with much long-suffering,' wishing to bring him to repentance: for had He not wished so to bring him, He would not have endured long with him. But when he would not repent for all God's patience, but fitted himself for wrath, then God used him for the correction of others, through his punishment making them better men and shewing thereby His power."

Turning to the other clause we notice that Chrysostom is here too equally anxious to insist on man's freedom of will. "When the Apostle says, 'which He afore prepared unto glory,' he does not imply that the whole matter pertains to God, else nothing would hinder all men being saved; He rather again points to the divine foreknowledge....The vessels of mercy are such by reason of their own goodness. For though the more part of the matter pertains to God, yet did they themselves make some small contribution thereto. For the words, 'It is not of him that willeth,' imply simply that man needs the grace of God"². Finally Chrysostom lays some stress on St Paul's selection of Pharaoh as the typical instance. His argument would have been clearer had he taken those Israelites who sinned as his main illustration. But he sacrificed logical cogency to patriotism, and took as

20 sq. laying stress on *ἐκκαθάρη ἑαυτόν*. The same point is urged by Theodoret on vv. 23, 24, and the same verse is quoted by Pelagius on v. 16.

¹ Comp. Pelagius: Implendo peccatâ sua, vasa irae digna sunt facti, et a semetipsis ad interitum praeeparata.

² Still more inconsistent are the words above—*σκεύη ἐλέους, δεικνὺς ὅτι τὸ πᾶν ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*.

his example of punishment a barbarian king, speaking of the Jews only as types of God's saving mercy¹.

Chrysostom's treatment of this passage may be taken to illustrate two of his characteristics. It exemplifies on the one hand his proneness to map out a section into formal divisions, and to propose an artificial connexion; on the other hand his unvarying caution in drawing dogmatic conclusions from illustrations or parables.

2 Thessalonians ii. 3—10. The apocalyptic element in the Bible is no mean test of a commentator's sobriety. The temptation is strong to air strange theories in regions where no historical critic can follow. Chrysostom speaks of the passage in the Thessalonian Epistle as a revelation of great mysteries. It chiefly deals with the coming of the Antichrist. This Antichrist has many names. Thus Chrysostom curiously gives a personal interpretation of the expression *ἡ ἀποστασία* (v. 3)². The Antichrist is the very embodiment of apostasy. He is the 'man of sin,' because he will himself do, and teach others to do, many enormities; 'the son of perdition,' because he shall be destroyed. To

¹ On Chrysostom's views on the deep questions raised by this passage I must be content to refer to Foerster *Chrysostomus* pp. 65 sq. 130 sq. I add briefly the turning points of Theodore's interpretation. Verses 16—18 state the argument of the Apostle's supposed opponent (comp. Pelag. on vv. 16—19 personam de contrario assumit &c.). There are two questions here started. The *first*—Does God make men good and bad as He wills?—is discussed vv. 19—21. Here there are two points of special interest in Theodore's exposition, (a) v. 20 does not, as some think, convey a rebuke, but introduces the solution (comp. *μενούργε* x. 18). The argument is said to be—The very existence of the answer is proof of the man's power of moral choice, and shews that man can withstand God. Comp. Pelag.: Hic autem in eo in quo contradicit, queritur de Dei voluntate, ostendit liberi esse iudicii; so Theodoret, though he mentions the view of Chrysostom. (b) God and man are contrasted rather than compared with the potter and the clay. Were man like the lifeless clay, he would have no moral perception, nor reply against God. So Theodoret. St Paul then takes in hand the *second* question—Does God reward and punish men as He wills? Theodore and Theodoret both take *ἐὶ δέ* of 22 as elliptic, implying the thought 'but if thou askest why few bad men are punished, few good are rewarded in this life.' The words which follow give the answer, 'This life is one of conflict, not of retribution. Instances of present discrimination are proofs of a future judgment.'

² Comp. on v. 10 *ἀγάπη ἀληθείας τὸν Χριστὸν καλεῖ*.

the question, Who is the Antichrist?, Chrysostom answers decidedly that he is not Satan. He is rather a man who receives into himself the full activity of Satan. He will not lead men into ordinary idolatry. He will be himself an *ἀντίθεος*, destroying all Gods and bidding men worship himself in place of God. He will seat himself in the sanctuary of God, not *alone* that sanctuary which is in Jerusalem, but that which is in every Church. In dealing with the restraining power, Chrysostom asks two questions. What is the restraining power? What special reasons can be given for the Apostle's obscurity? He rejects the opinion of some who held that this restraining power was the grace of the Spirit¹. Such an explanation does not account for the intentional obscurity of the phrase, and further, miraculous gifts had long ceased, and the man of sin had not been revealed. The true explanation is found when the restraining power is seen to be the Roman Empire. St Paul had to speak of its destruction—its being 'taken out of the way'; hence lest he should incur useless danger, he uses dark riddles. 'The mystery of lawlessness' already working is identified with the Emperor Nero, "as being a type of the Antichrist and as desiring to be accounted a God, yet not openly nor with unblushing effrontery," hence the phrase '*mystery* of lawlessness.' Here too the dark speech of St Paul is easily accounted for. Past history, read in the light of Daniel's prophecies, appears to Chrysostom to cast light on the future. The great world empires had destroyed each other. The Median empire had fallen before the Babylonian, the Babylonian before the Persian, the Persian before the Macedonian, the Macedonian before the Roman. So should the Roman empire give place to the Antichrist, the Antichrist to Christ Himself. Chrysostom's comment on St Paul's picture of the end (v. 8) must not be spoiled by a translation. *Καθάπερ γὰρ πῦρ ἐπελθὼν ἀπλῶς τὰ μικρὰ ζωῦφια καὶ πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτῆς πόρρωθεν ὄντα ναρκῶν ποιεῖ καὶ ἀναλίσκει, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τῷ ἐπιτάγματι μόνον καὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ. ἀρκεῖ παρεῖναι αὐτόν,*

¹ So Severian (Cramer *Catena* vi. p. 388). Chrysostom illustrates his own view well but unintentionally in xii. 3 b.

καὶ πάντα ταῦτα ἀπόλωλε· στήσει τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ φανεῖς μόνον.

In parts of this exposition Chrysostom evidently has Irenaeus in his mind¹. His reference to Nero is strange. He was perhaps not likely to note that when St Paul wrote Nero had not as yet assumed the purple. But it is hard to see how the Roman Empire could be the restraining power, and the representative of the Empire the power of lawlessness already working.

1 Corinthians xv. 24—28. Chrysostom approaches the passage as a recognised battle-ground of theological controversy. He starts with the axiom that it must be interpreted in a divine and not in a merely human sense. Further, he lays down the principle that St Paul's language in speaking of the Divine Son differs greatly from that which he employs in speaking of the Incarnate Christ. In dealing with the Human Nature, the Apostle fearlessly uses terms expressive of humiliation. From this starting point he proceeds to treat the crucial phrases. And first the *ὅταν παραδῶ* of v. 24. Chrysostom admits that, in ordinary language, he who delivers up anything to another ceases thereby to hold it himself, and that he who receives it thus has not possessed it before. Such an interpretation here is forbidden by Dan. ii. 44, Joh. v. 17. Regarding the words as "a sublime utterance touching the Only-begotten," and leaving out of sight the *τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί*, he paraphrases them thus: "Himself He accomplisheth these things, Himself gaineth the victory and puts all things under His feet,... Himself establishes (*κατορθοῖ*) the kingdom" (369 D, 371 E). The kingdom is not that one which is based on the right of creation, but that which depends on special appropriation (*κατ'*

¹ Iren. v. xxv. 1. Omnem suscipiens diaboli virtutem...diabolicam apostasiam in se recapitulans; et idola quidem seponens ad suadendum quod ipse sit Deus. Chrysostom characteristically tries to combine the old interpretation which identified 'the sanctuary of God' (v. 4) with the Temple at Jerusalem and the view of the other Antiochenes that the Apostle referred to Christian Churches. A discussion of the whole passage in reference to Patristic interpretation will be found in Swete *Theodore* ii. p. 49 sq.

οικείωσιν), the kingdom of the faithful¹. Again, Chrysostom does not dispute that commonly 'until' (v. 25) implies a limit. But this is not so when it is applied to God (comp. Ps. lxxxix. 2, Ex. iii. 14, Is. xlv. 4)². The motive of the clause is to confirm what has been said of the victorious might of the Son. "Fear not at the words, He shall abolish all rule, as though He were now lacking in power; for until He doth accomplish this, He must reign. It is not implied that afterwards He shall not reign. Here is but the proof that, though His rule has not come yet, it shall surely come hereafter."

The motive of the verses which follow Chrysostom explains thus: St Paul feared lest some foolish persons might argue from his words that the Son is greater than the Father. (a) He therefore tones down his previous expressions, and ascribes the victory to the Father; for so Chrysostom explains the πάντα υπέταξεν of v. 27. (b) He further corrects himself by the ἐκτὸς τοῦ υποτάξαντος. (c) Yet again lest any should say that, though the Father is not subject to the Son, yet the Son is stronger than the Father, he ventures an extreme statement, 'The Son also Himself shall be subjected,' "pointing out thereby His absolute oneness of will with the Father (τὴν πολλὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὁμόνοιαν δεικνύς), and that He who hath begotten One of such power is the Source and first Cause of all good things." The Apostle's determination to pluck up by the roots a pernicious doctrine is made to account for an exaggerated position (πολλῇ κέχρηται τῇ περιουσίᾳ)³. There remains the one phrase, ἵνα ᾗ ὁ θεός

¹ The fragments of Theodore on this Chapter are few and unimportant. Theodoret explains the delivering up the kingdom as meaning the complete subjection of all enemies, and rejects any thought of the Son being denuded of it.

² Theodoret and Pelagius are here at one with Chrysostom. All quote Isaiah.

³ Theodore's view is given in his note on Phil. iii. 21. *Tunc ipse Filius subditus erit; non quia serviet, sed manet conjunctus illi per se omnia offerens—de suscepto homine ista dicens.* For the former part of this note comp. Pelagius "subjectionem non semper ad diminutionem honoris pertinere, sed etiam ad caritatis officium"; for the latter part (in which Theodoret refers to a favourite theory) comp. Theodoret: *νὺν ἐπεδείξατο τὴν ὑπακοὴν ἐνανθρωπήσας... ἡμῶν μετὰ τὴν τῆς φθορᾶς ἀπαλλαγὴν ὑποτασσομένων,*

πάντα ἐν παύσιν. It is explained thus: "Then shall all things be dependent upon Him, that none may then so much as imagine two beginning-less Beginnings nor any other kingdom separated from Him. For when all enemies are under the Son's feet, and He who has them under His feet rebels not against the Father, but has one will in fulness of agreement with Him, then shall the Father be all in all." "Some say," adds Chrysostom, "that the Apostle here speaks of the destruction of evil; for when sin is no more, it is abundantly clear that God shall be all in all"¹.

Galatians i. ii. Hitherto we have reviewed Chrysostom's interpretation of passages from St Paul's Epistles mainly doctrinal. There are however no portions of the Apostle's writings more characteristic than those in which he refers to his personal history and feelings. His life cannot be separated from his preaching. There is an especial interest in those parts of the first two chapters of the Galatian Epistle in which St Paul refers to the great change and the great struggle of his life. The narrative is of course subordinated to the purpose which called it forth. He is vindicating his independence. "He everywhere asserts," to quote Chrysostom's words, "that he had become a disciple of the Christ apart from the mediation of any human being, the Lord—the Lord alone—deigning to reveal all knowledge to him."

With what success does Chrysostom bring out the bearing of the details of the story?

He starts, as we have seen, with a right perception of the general drift. But the thought of St Paul's independence

αὐτὸς λέγεται ὑποτάσσεσθαι. Theodoret adds another reason for the Apostle's words. He is writing to men lately the dupes of heathen mythology. That mythology spoke of parricides among the Gods. St Paul would exclude such a thought from their conceptions of Christian doctrine.

¹ Chrysostom seems to allude to Origen. On the views of the latter on these verses see the passages collected in Huetius *Origeniana* ii. xi. xvi. We gather Theodore's characteristic and noteworthy explanation from Theodoret. God is everywhere present κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, with his saints κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν (comp. the fragments of Theodore in Swete *Theodore* ii. p. 294). When the end has come, and sin has been done away, the two modes of the Divine Presence will coincide (comp. Col. iii. 11, a proof of the Son's equality).

makes him lose the exact point of the Apostle's reference to his former zeal as a persecutor. "If it was not for man's sake," so he reads the underlying force of v. 14, "that I did that which I did against the Church, but because of a zeal for God mistaken indeed but real, can it be, now that I run my course for the Church's sake and know the truth, that I do all this from motives of vainglory?" Coming to the time of St Paul's conversion, Chrysostom, like his friend Theodore, misinterprets the purpose of the journey to Arabia¹. The Apostle, he argues, "goes as a Christian missionary, eager to occupy lands as yet untilled and still waste." The brevity of the reference is thus a sign of St Paul's humility. Just before the Commentator has taken needless pains to reconcile the statement of v. 16, 'immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood,' with the narrative of Acts xv., on the ground that in this later visit he did not go of his own accord but was sent; that he went not to learn but to persuade².

Again, Chrysostom misrepresents the second visit to Jerusalem three years later. There is nothing in the Apostle's language to warrant the conclusion which the Commentator draws as to the extreme deference with which he supposes St Paul to have treated the other Apostles. "See how he shews them," he exclaims, "due honour, and does not deem himself their superior or even their equal." St Paul mentions the duration of his visit, fifteen days, evidently laying stress on its brevity. With Chrysostom the meaning is reversed. "To take this journey for St Peter's sake was a high compliment³; to remain with him so many days was a mark of friendship and most earnest affection." The same tone Chrysostom perceives in the name by which St Paul designates St James. Assuming, it would appear,

¹ See Bp. Lightfoot *Galatians* p. 90.

² Yet just before (x. 676 B) ἀνῆλθεν, καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ μαθησόμενός τι παρ' αὐτῶν.

³ The comment on *ιστορήσαι* is noteworthy: *ὅπερ οἱ τὰς μεγάλας πόλεις καὶ λαμπρὰς καταμανθάνοντες λέγουσι*. The reference to the growing love for pilgrimages is interesting: *νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων πρὸς ἁγίους ἀνδρας ἀποδημοῦσιν*.

the identity of Alphaeus and Clopas, Chrysostom says, "the Apostle might have called him the son of Clopas, as did the Evangelist; instead thereof he added the title of respect (τὸ σεμνολόγημα)"¹.

Two points must be noticed in Chrysostom's exposition of St Paul's account of his later visit to Jerusalem.

The motive of his communication to 'them of reputation'² was to allay any suspicion as to the fruitlessness of his work. It was made privately because a public avowal of his practice and the principles of his teaching would only have offended the main body of Jewish Christians. In the private interview Titus and Barnabas were witnesses to the truth of his recital.

The question of the circumcision of Titus is treated by Chrysostom with characteristic want of distinctness. Though he at length says explicitly that Titus was not circumcised, in the earlier part of his comment on the passage he seems to imply an opposite opinion. The Apostles at Jerusalem did not order circumcision (a proof that they did not condemn St Paul's practice and teaching), but they permitted it³. Why then are the false brethren condemned for commanding what the Apostles themselves allowed? The two cases must be distinguished. The motive was different. The Apostles were influenced by a feeling of condescension towards Jewish prejudices. Circumcision in their view was a matter of concession, not of principle. Again, they acted thus only in Judaea, where the Law was in force. The false brethren laid down no such limit. Circumcision was with them of vital import and universal obligation. The Apostles

¹ A 'title of respect' due to all the Apostles and so to St Paul himself (ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπαίρων) x. 678 n. See Bp. Lightfoot (*The Brethren of the Lord*) *Galatians* pp. 251, 280 n.

² τοῖς δοκοῦσι: (1) οὐκ ἀναιρῶν τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς μεγάλους, comp. 1 Cor. vii. 40; (2) μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων λέγων ψήφον (comp. 685 c).

³ Chrysostom seems to lay stress on οὐκ ἠναγκάσθη. From this expression he makes in his own paraphrase a double advance: (1) οὐκ ἠνάγκασαν περιμηθεῖναι οἱ ἀπόστολοι. (2) οὐδὲ ἐπικειμένων τῶν ἐναντιουμένων καὶ ταῦτα εἰδόντων ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι τοῦτο κελεῦσαι. He says (684 Δ) οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνον περιέτεμον. Here Chrysostom is at one with Theodore, on whose comments on the entire passage see Dr Swete.

therefore acted *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*. It is of the essence of an *οἰκονομία* (too often a convenient synonym for a fraud) that it be kept secret¹. By the nature of the case St Paul was bound to keep up the delusion. That he did so with much more than half-hearted acquiescence is clear if we believe Chrysostom's version of the sequel. According to this elaborate evasion of the plain meaning of words the apparent dispute between the two Apostles at Antioch was got up that St Paul might with more scenic effect and more telling emphasis condemn the Judaisers. Two special phrases, according to Chrysostom, lend themselves to this monstrous perversion. *κατεγνωσμένος ἦν* (ii. 11) is taken to imply not *ὑπ' ἐμοῦ* but *ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων*. Again, *κατὰ πρόσωπον* suggests the gloss *σχῆμα ἦν*. It is waste of time to examine in detail the interpretation of a commentator who says of the very explicit language of St Paul: *μηδὲ αὐτῇ ὑμᾶς θορυβεῖτω ἡ λέξις· οὐ γὰρ Πέτρου καταγινώσκων ταῦτα λέγει, ἀλλ' οὕτω χαρακτηρίζει τὴν λέξιν, ὥς συμφέρον ἦν ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς διὰ τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως Πέτρου μέλλοντας βελτίους γίνεσθαι*.

It is not without a painful significance that the most honest and frank among ancient expositors could not disentangle himself from the vain conceits of a spurious reverence, or admit that differences and disputes, controversies and partial views of truth, harassed the members of the Apostolic College itself².

¹ Chrysostom had learned the lesson of acting *κατ' οἰκονομίαν* from Flavian (Theodor. *H. E.* iv. x.), and had shamelessly carried it out to his friend Basil's cost. He glories in his disgrace *de Sacerdotio* i. v.

² Chrysostom has a separate Homily devoted to the subject (iii. 362). Beside the points dwelt on above, (a) he emphasises the phrase *before them all* (ii. 14); had the rebuke been in earnest it would have been administered in private; (b) he mentions two other solutions which had been given: (1) that the Peter of this passage is not the Apostle but *ἑτερός τις εὐτελής καὶ ἀπερριμμένος καὶ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς* (Clement of Alexandria ap. Eus. *H. E.* i. 12): (2) that St Paul seriously rebuked St Peter for an indiscretion rather than a fault;—*πέρα τοῦ μέτρου τῇ συγκαταβάσει ἐχρήσατο*. Chrysostom's name occurs in the historical correspondence between Jerome and Augustine on this question. The former says (Ep. cxii), *Quid dicam de Joanne qui dudum in pontificali gradu Constantinopolitanam rexit ecclesiam*; et proprie super hoc capitulo latissimum exaravit librum, in quo Origenis et veterum sententiam

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians opens to our view a battle-field of contending emotions. Relief, disappointment; affection, anger; weariness, hope; despair, comfort—all these forces are fiercely struggling for the mastery within St Paul, and almost every sentence of the letter bears the marks of the conflict. Hence, to understand the Epistle, the Interpreter must be in continual sympathy with the swiftly changing moods of the Apostle.

We take for example St Paul's appeal (vi. 13), 'Now for a recompense in like kind (I speak as unto my children), be ye also enlarged.' "Yet it is no equivalent," says Chrysostom, "that one should be loved and then love. Still I do not exact a strict account, saith the Apostle; if receiving first from me, ye display the same measure of love towards me, I am well content. Further, to shew that even this love is a debt, and that his words have no flattery about them, 'I speak,' he says, 'as to my children.' It is no great thing if being your father I would fain be loved by you....Such love is natural and the due of every father." Or again on vii. 4 ('Great is my boldness of speech toward you');—"The Apostle has been harping on such phrases as 'ye are not straitened in us,' 'open your hearts to us,' 'we wronged no man,'—words which appeared to condemn them. Mark how he softens this severity."

But beside this great struggle of affection with indignation, there are three characteristic elements in the Epistle, which Chrysostom brings out.

1. There is St Paul's self-praise. "One would not be far wrong," Chrysostom truly remarks, "if one called this letter a panegyric of St Paul." Again, the Apostle "is under a great necessity to exalt himself. The marvel is that he accomplishes these two things; he both magnifies himself, and yet for all this bragging does not make himself

est secutus? Si igitur me reprehendis errantem, patere me, quaeso, errare cum talibus. Augustine somewhat pertinently asks in reply (Ep. lxxxi), Quis est qui se velit cum quolibet errare? For an account of the Patristic views generally on this Chapter see Bp. Lightfoot's detached note in his Galatians.

offensive to the more part.....He is self-restrained *and* he boasts....Consider how often, when he is launching out into the full current of self-praise, he puts back" (x. 582 E, 588 C D, 607 A).

2. There is St Paul's irony. This is perhaps the most salient feature in this Epistle. For irony is the natural refuge of a strong and tender man torn asunder by emotions. The whole letter is a molten stream flowing forth from the fiery furnace of St Paul's inner self. Chrysostom not seldom detects the presence of this volcanic force in the Apostle's words. Thus on iii. 1, 2 he says, "To give his words a savour of rebuke St Paul puts the sarcastic question, 'Need we epistles of commendation?' Then hinting at the false apostles he adds, 'letters to you, as some need, or letters to others from you?' Afterwards, since his words were severe, he softens them, adding, 'Ye are our epistle.'" Or again of the words, 'I who in your presence am lowly among you, but being absent am of good courage toward you,' Chrysostom offers two explanations. Either, he thinks, the Apostle defends his boastful expressions, on the ground that they are not the outcome of pride, but of his confidence in the Corinthians: or his words are sarcastic; he quotes to them their own words about himself (comp. x. 10). The latter interpretation is quite in accordance with the whole tone of the context. A few verses lower down (x. 12) the commentator does not hesitate to say that the Apostle ridicules (*κωμωδεῖ*) certain of the Corinthians for their self-commendation.

But Chrysostom's success in detecting the irony of St Paul is not uniform. To take as an example chapter xi, the bitterness of the *καλῶς* (v. 4, comp. *ἡδέως* v. 19) is overlooked. Nor again has Chrysostom caught the drift of the intensely ironical phrase *τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων* (xi. 5, comp. xii. 11). Whether, as Chrysostom thinks, the reference is simply to the Three, or, as is more probable, the same persons are referred to who are elsewhere plainly styled 'false apostles,' the sarcasm of the uncouth word, a parody or a quotation of some cant Corinthian phrase, is

unmistakable. Chrysostom however finds here only a proof of St Paul's modesty. Having to refer to the Apostles he mentions them with a special commendation (*μετ' ἐγκωμίων*). Once more, Chrysostom misreads the *φρόνιμοι ὄντες* of xi. 19. The reference may be again to some trite phrase in use at Corinth. In any case in it sarcasm reaches its furthest point. But Chrysostom sees here a rift in the clouds. "See," he exclaims, "how he mingles commendation with censure."

3. Lastly, there is St Paul's obscurity. A close analysis of the Apostle's language is harder in the case of this Epistle than in that of any other. Chrysostom's comment on one special clause (xi. 21) is of wider application. "The expression is obscure; for as the subject is a painful one, he deals with it in this way that he may conceal its bitterness under obscurity." Or again on xii. 16 sq. Chrysostom notes that St Paul's "words are obscure but not random or purposeless; he is speaking of money-matters, and defending himself on that score; naturally therefore a haziness rests upon his words."

There is one Epistle of St Paul, its interest wholly personal, which yet stands in the most striking and instructive contrast to that one with which we have just dealt. The very fact that there is nothing of controversy or argument in the Epistle to Philemon led to its depreciation in the days of Chrysostom. Some, he tells us, urged that it was unworthy of attention, for in it the Apostle only made a trivial request on behalf of one single man. In answer to such Chrysostom dwells on the extreme interest of any details of the Apostle's life. And further he is at pains to shew how the Epistle is of varied practical importance. It teaches, for example, the lesson of earnestness in all things; it warns slaves, and much more the free, against despair. It was partly the sense that his honour was at stake in proving the Epistle worthy of its place among the Apostle's writings, it was still more the congenial character of the letter itself, that called forth the powers of the Preacher.

Chrysostom is never so happy in his exegesis as when he is tracing out the personal element of the Epistles. He rejoices to mark how the great missionary pastor varies rebuke with commendation¹; how when by his severity he has cast down, he raises the penitent again by his gentleness; how with a discriminating tenderness he meets the varying needs of different Churches. The explanation of Chrysostom's power is not far to seek. He was an Expositor because he was first of all a Pastor. This keen realization of the meaning of his office, this tone and bent of his mind, together enable him to disclose with rare power the subtle delicacy of feeling which moulds so much of St Paul's writings.

Chrysostom's treatment of this Epistle may be taken as a signal instance of his success in this respect.

In commenting, for example, on vv. 4—6 he bids us notice that St Paul does not make his request at once; how he leads up to it; how he would have Philemon think that he had other reasons for writing, to express his affection, to ask that a lodging might be prepared. When he speaks of the hearts of the Saints being refreshed by his friend, he does not add 'much more should my heart be.' He hints at this, but he gives it gentler expression. We must note too how gradually he approaches the name which may rouse resentment. He prefaces it with his own. His plea is his own personal influence; his age; then the highest claim of all, 'a prisoner also of Christ Jesus.' Yet still he keeps the name back. First there comes the word of entreaty, 'I beseech thee'; then a word of commendation, 'for my child,' the very name he gives to Timothy; again there comes the argument of his chain, 'whom I have begotten in my bonds'; then at last the name itself, Onesimus.

Again, Chrysostom calls attention to St Paul's delicate choice of words. He does not say *ἀπόδεξαι* but *προσλαβοῦ*, for Onesimus is worthy not only of forgiveness but of

¹ Comp. e.g. xi. 275 A, 310 B.

respect; not *ἔφυγε* but *ἐχωρίσθη*; not *ἔκλεψε*, a slave's crime, but *ἡδίκησε*, the fault of a friend against a friend.

There is 'a true spiritual grace' in the words, 'I Paul write it with mine own hand.' How importunate his manner is, yet how winning (*ἐντρεπτικῶς καὶ χαριέντως*). If St Paul does not refuse to give his bond for the man, Philemon cannot refuse to receive him. Throughout the Apostle has two things in mind. He must use every safeguard against the refusal of his request. Yet nothing on his part must hint that his confident assurance fails.

Finally, as Chrysostom notes, *εὐχῇ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν κατέκλεισεν*.

Metaphors play an important part in St Paul's teaching. Few writers venture in reference to the greatest subjects to depend so largely on images drawn from every quarter; few blend metaphors as does St Paul; few, as he, allow a metaphor to drift on and tide over the barrier which separates one thought from another. A commentator's treatment of Pauline metaphors is a test of his exegetical tact.

Chrysostom takes an obviously true and sensible view of the scope of teaching by metaphors. "Be not troubled if illustrations do not avail to present the whole case; for by their very nature they leave the greater part to the reader's intelligence"¹. Adherence to such a maxim would have saved theology from many conflicts and from many losses.

One of the most striking groups of Pauline metaphors consists of those drawn from darkness and light. Such a metaphor has a place in St Paul's earliest Epistle:—"Ye, brethren, are not in darkness" (1 Thess. v. 4). "The Apostle speaks," such is the comment, "of the life which is dark and impure; for it is in the night that foul and wicked men do all their deeds, shunning the eye of all men, shutting themselves up in darkness." "Why," Chrysostom asks later on, "does the Apostle speak of vice as sleep? First, because the vicious man has no energy for virtue; secondly, because he

¹ xi. 245 B, 40 B, 654 D, xii. 13 D &c.

lives in a vain show and sees nothing as it is; he is full of dreams and often of unreasonable fancies. If he beholds anything that is good, it has no abiding with him." Later on (v. 10) Chrysostom notes how St Paul gives a different turn to the image. Sleep becomes the figure of death. 'Whether we wake or sleep';—"do not fear danger; even if we die, we shall live." The same imagery is used in Romans xiii. 12 in a somewhat different connexion. Chrysostom draws out at length the thought of the words, 'The night is far spent, the day is at hand.' "In our earthly life," he says, "when we see the night quickly passing into the dawn, when we hear the note of the swallow, though it be still night we rouse each man his fellow; but when the night is gone, we make good speed, telling each other that the day has come. We do that which pertains to the day, shaking off our dreams and our sleep, that the day may find us prepared, and that we may not wait for the sun's rays to mount high before we begin to arise and stretch ourselves. So in this other life, let us put from us our delusions, and free ourselves from the dreams of our present life, and clothe ourselves in virtue as in a garment." There is however progress, as Chrysostom notes, as the thought works itself out: "When St Paul has said, 'the day is at hand,' he afterwards speaks of it as actually present, 'Let us walk honestly as in the day.'" On Ephesians v. 11 Chrysostom strikingly remarks that the words, 'but rather even reprove them,' are a carrying on of the metaphor of light in the context. "The Apostle has just said 'ye are light': the light of itself reproves the works done in the dark. When the lamp is set, all men are revealed, and the thief will not enter."

A large number of Pauline metaphors are drawn from the soldier's life. In the passage from the Epistle to the Romans just quoted the metaphor of light gives place to that of the armour. The connecting link is the thought of activity. "The day summons to battle-array and to the fight." And further, as Chrysostom notes, the armour is the armour of the light, for it makes the soldiers reflect the brightness of the eternal day. This war is no war, but a

revel and a festival (*χορεία καὶ πανήγυρις*).” The brief form in which the metaphor of the Christian armour is found in St Paul’s earliest Epistle calls forth two remarks of Chrysostom worthy of note. ‘Faith and love,’ together forming the breastplate, pertain respectively to sound doctrine and a holy life; the comment is characteristic of the time. Again, the Apostle describes hope as the helmet. “As the helmet protects our most vital part, covering it on every side, so hope does not allow the mind to fall away (*διαπρεσεῖν*), but sets it upright as the head, not permitting anything from without to fall upon it.” In the Homilies on the Ephesian Epistle, the most diffuse of all Chrysostom’s commentaries, the greater elaboration of the same image receives a fuller treatment. One or two details of the exposition may be noticed. ‘The evil day’ (vi. 13) is identified with the present life as a whole. The command is, “ever arm yourselves.” A wrong meaning is given to *κατεργασάμενοι*. “When you have conquered,” such is the explanation, “all things, passions, strange lusts, all things that trouble you. For many who have gained this victory have again fallen.” The loins are to be girded with truth, truth (for the word is unduly narrowed) as opposed to falsehood. The loins are “the foundation, whereon the whole is built, as physicians (*ιατρῶν παῖδες*) say. The Apostle would have the Christian warrior clasp tight together (*συσφίγγει*) that which spiritually is the beginning of his strength.” Later on the girding of the loins (comp. Lk. xii. 35) suggests an allusion to the story of the Exodus. Two explanations are offered of ‘the preparation of the Gospel of peace.’ It may either mean that the feet are to be ready to prepare the way for the Gospel, or, we must be ready for our exodus, the ‘preparedness of the Gospel’ being equivalent to a holy life (comp. Ps. ix. 38 LXX.).

In Rom. vi. 13 Chrysostom rightly, it would appear, interprets *ὄπλα* of weapons, weapons of righteousness or unrighteousness¹. Weapons, he notices, take their character

¹ So Theodore and Theodoret (*βασιλείας μνημονεύσας ἀναγκαίως καὶ τὴν ταύτης ἐδείξε πανοπλίαν*).

from him who uses them, the patriot or the pirate. On the other hand St Paul's allusion to defensive and offensive armour in 2 Cor. vi. 7 is completely missed. The arms on the left hand are afflictions, which not only do not cast down but fortify and invigorate. The word *ἀριστερά* is chosen either in accordance with the common notion¹, or because we are bidden to pray that 'we enter not into temptation.' In the same Epistle (x. 5) St Paul's description of the strength of the Apostolic weapons is rightly understood. The *ὀχυρώματα* (in which Dean Stanley finds a picturesque allusion to 'the hill forts of Cilician pirates') are described as *πυργώματα*, and typify the intellectual pride of the Greeks. In the context, the phrase 'bringing into captivity' is chosen to bring out the idea of the ease and completeness of St Paul's spiritual victories.

The metaphor drawn from the soldier's pay is characteristic of St Paul. Chrysostom well says that in the words 'the wages of sin' (Rom. vi. 23), the thought of the 'arms of unrighteousness' and of sin reigning as a king is kept up. Sin has his soldiers, and gives them their pay. In 1 Cor. ix. 7 sq. there are four metaphors enforcing the duty of providing for those who minister in holy things. The argument of the first of these is *a fortiori*. "Even cruel and unjust rulers do not require men to serve as soldiers and face danger at their own charges." In 2 Cor. xi. 8 the technical meaning of the word is not pressed; it is simply regarded as meaning 'necessary food.' The comment on the words 'sin reigned in death' (Rom. v. 21) is remarkable—"The Apostle presents to us sin as a king, death as a soldier serving under him and armed by him."

Once more the issue of the war supplies St Paul with an appropriate and characteristic expression of a noble thought. He compares himself (2 Cor. ii. 14) to a captive led in triumph by a great conqueror. As the procession passes on through the world, the Apostle, 'the bondservant of

¹ Comp. Theodoret *δεξιὰ δὲ καλεῖ τὰ δοκοῦντα θυμήρη· ἀριστερά δὲ τὰ ἐναντία, ἀπὸ τῆς κατεχούσης δόξης θετικῶς τὰ ὀνόματα*: and Pelagius, *Nec prosperis elevemur nec frangamur adversis*.

Jesus Christ,' graces the triumph of his Lord. In him the victorious might of his Master is made conspicuous to all. Here is his boast. His captivity is his one claim to honour. And then the metaphor changes. As a Roman triumph passed to the Capitol, the temples were filled with the odour of incense. St Paul (who twice speaks of himself as a drink offering poured out—Phil. ii. 17, 2 Tim. iv. 6) represents himself as the incense, fragrant and all-pervading, the sweet savour of the knowledge of Christ. The point of contact between the two metaphors, at first sight so widely separated, lies in the thought of publicity. The prisoner of war on the victor's car is seen of all. The incense penetrates everywhere. In dealing with this pair of metaphors, Chrysostom's comment on the crucial word ($\tau\hat{\omega} \dots \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \theta\rho\iota\alpha\mu\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu\tau\iota$) in the former of them is indistinct. He emphasises two notions, that of publicity ($\tau\hat{\omega} \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota \pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\iota \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$), and that of glory in seeming shame. He lays stress on the thought of the Apostle being driven from place to place, and he connects it with continual persecutions. Still in Chrysostom's hands the image becomes dull and commonplace. Again, he sees no connexion between the metaphors; he speaks of them as wholly distinct. And the point of the mention of the *sweet savour* of knowledge he finds in the indistinctness of the fragrance, typifying the incompleteness of our present knowledge of God (1 Cor. xiii. 12)¹.

An interesting group of passages gathers round the central thought of husbandry. 'Ye are God's tilled land' (1 Cor. iii. 9), St Paul writes to the Corinthians. "He

¹ The explanation of Chrysostom is repeated by Theodoret. Mr Field (*Otium Norvic.* p. 111) would dismiss all reference to the Roman triumph and understand the word in a more general sense: "which always maketh a show (or spectacle) of us." He quotes Chrysostom as substantially giving this view. I venture to think he has not given sufficient weight to two special phrases in Chrysostom's comment: (1) $\text{οἱ διωγμοὶ οὗτοι τρόπαια συνεχῇ κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἀνιστῶσι.}$ (2) $\text{ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ θριαμβευόμεθα.}$ The comment of Chrysostom is certainly loose enough. Thus when he uses the words, $\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma \tau\omicron \tau\acute{\rho}\omicron\pi\alpha\iota\omicron\nu,$ and (speaking of the Apostles) $\tau\eta\eta \omicron\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta\eta \pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\omega\eta \epsilon\lambda\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\rho}\omicron\pi\alpha\iota\alpha \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\eta \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\eta\eta \epsilon\upsilon\omega\delta\iota\alpha\eta,$ he goes very near to making St Paul himself the triumphant conqueror. Chrysostom passes over the word in Col. ii. 15 without remark.

continued," such is Chrysostom's remark, "the metaphor he had used above, 'I planted'...Now if you are God's field it is meet that you should take your name not from the husbandmen but from God....If you are a field, the field must needs be undivided, walled in with one fence, even the fence of concord." In the companion Epistle Chrysostom explains a difficult passage by an agricultural allusion. The words, 'the measure of the province &c.' (2 Cor. x. 13), suggest this thought—"as though God were apportioning a vineyard to husbandmen, so did He separate a part for us." Two important passages from the Epistle to the Romans come under this head. In Romans vi. 5 the Apostle uses the phrase *σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ*. "He uses the word *planting* (τῆς φυτείας)," Chrysostom notes, "that he may hint thereby at the fruit which shall come therefrom. For as the Body of the Lord buried in the earth bare as its fruit the salvation of the world, so also our body buried in Baptism bare as its fruit righteousness, sanctification, adoption, and it shall bear God's last gift, the gift of the Resurrection"¹. Again, it is with a metaphor drawn from the oliveyards that St Paul describes the relation of Jew and Gentile. The image was suggested, it would appear, by the words in which St Paul vindicates the high estate of Israel: 'If the root is holy, so are the branches' (Rom. xi. 16)². Of the key word in the metaphor

¹ Chrysostom follows Diodore (Cramer *Catena* iv. p. 61). ἀκριβῶς τὸ σύμφυτον τέθεικε· τῶν γὰρ συμπεφυτευμένων πρέμνων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνοῦται πολλάκις ἡ φύσις διὰ τῆς κολλησεως. οὕτως οὖν καὶ οἱ γνησίως βαπτισθέντες εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐνοῦνται αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς πίστεως. Theodore brings out another side of truth when he says, "the Apostle well says *σύμφυτοι*, seeing that he is speaking of a dying (νεκρώσεως) and a quickening, forasmuch as it is the nature and property of plants to die in the sowing and to change into that which is much better and more glorious." (Comp. Theodore.) Chrysostom lays some stress on the fact that St Paul did not say *σύμφ.* τῷ θανάτῳ, but, τῷ ὁμοί. τοῦ θαν., and in the next clause simply τῆς ἀναστάσεως. Our death is a death unto sin, His a death of the body. But we shall rise as He rose. The construction is thus left unexplained.

² Chrysostom's view (in which most commentators have followed him) is that 'the firstfruits' and 'the root' are to be identified, and that both signify "the Patriarchs and the Prophets, and all those who, under the old

Chrysostom offers a striking, if not a convincing, interpretation. He contrasts *ἐνεκεντρίσθης* with a possible *ἐνεφυτεύθης*. "Here St Paul deals sharply with the Jew. He shews him the Gentile standing upright, himself lying on the ground." The word implies not only the privilege of the Gentiles but also the temporary overthrow of the Jews.

The metaphor of husbandry is closely associated in St Paul's writings with that of building. 'Ye are God's husbandry, God's building,' he writes to the Corinthians. The last phrase is the starting point, and the key to the interpretation, of the passage which follows. The Corinthian Christians themselves are represented as the material which is built into the great fabric; its quality depends on their spiritual condition; and for this again their teachers are largely responsible. To Chrysostom however the passage assumes a wholly different complexion. He mentions, only to condemn it as inconsistent with the argument and with the instinct of justice, the view of some that the words apply "to teachers and disciples and corrupt heresies." According to this interpretation, he urges, the punishment would light on the innocent, on the victims, not on the authors, of perverse teaching. He concludes without misgiving that the Apostle, already preparing the way for a fuller treatment of the case of the incestuous person at Corinth, speaks here of actions¹.

dispensation, pleased God." Theodore mentions and rejects this interpretation, urging that *ἡ μὲν ἀπαρχὴ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἐκλέγεται συλλογὴν, ἡ δὲ ρίζα ἀρχὴ τις νενόμισται πρῶματος*. By 'the root' therefore he would understand Abraham; by 'the firstfruits' the Christ as the representative of the Jewish race (so Thdt. and comp. Severian; Origen took this view of 'the root,' but identified it with 'the firstfruits'). Theodore's objection against Chrysostom's view appears to me unanswerable. But I would venture to suggest that 'the firstfruits' are to be identified with *λείμμα κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος* (v. 5), *ἡ ἐκλογὴ* (v. 7). The proof that the whole nation is holy lies in the fact that the ancestor of the race was 'the friend of God,' and that in its darkest hour some of its number were chosen to be the bondservants of Jesus Christ. This interpretation accords with the use of *ἀπαρχή* in the New Testament (Rom. xvi. 5, 1 Cor. xvi. 15, 2 Thess. ii. 13 (v. 1.), Apoc. xiv. 4).

¹ Three distinct views seem to have been taken in early times. The material of the building represents (1) *disciples*. So Origen (ap. Cramer) *ἐὰν προσγάγῃ ψυχὰς ἀκρίτως τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ φαύλας, προσήγαγον τῷ καλῷ θεμελίῳ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ ξύλα*: and Pelagius, *Manifeste ostenditur homines esse aurum &c.*

"If any one holding the true faith lives a bad life,"—the warning is a remarkable one in Chrysostom's days—"his faith will not protect him from being punished, when his work is burned up." As to the last phrase, he adds that St Paul is not speaking as concerning material things which can be burned (*περὶ ἐνυποστάτων καὶ διακαιομένων*), but would intensify men's fear and shew how he who lives in sin is stripped naked of all protection. The man's work is burned up. The man himself is "not like his works consumed and annihilated (*εἰς τὸ μηδὲν χωρῶν*), but he abideth in the fire. Hence the phrase *ὡς διὰ πυρός*. For we have a common saying about any substance which is not at once burned up and reduced to ashes, *ἐν τῷ πυρὶ σώζεται*. For think not, at the mention of fire, that those who are being burned pass into non-existence (*εἰς ἀνυπαρξίαν χωρεῖν*). Nor wonder that he speaks of so dreadful a punishment as salvation (*σωτηρίαν*), for it is his custom to use pleasant words in speaking of what is grievous (Rom. v. 21, contrast 2 Cor. x. 5). ...The words 'he shall be saved' simply imply an aggravation of punishment:—he shall abide continually in punishment"¹.

With the passage just referred to the kindred paragraph

(2) *doctrines*. *τινὲς περὶ δογμάτων ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι τῷ ἀποστόλῃ φασί*, Theodoret. This is the view of the fragment of Theodore, comp. on Phil. iii. 2. (3) *actions*, so Chrysostom. This is substantially suggested as a secondary interpretation by Origen: *τοῦτο τὸ λεχθυσόμενον ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἡμῶν ἔπτεται... εἰ μὲν οὖν καλὰ νοοῦμεν... ἐποικοδομοῦμεν*. Origen works out the interpretation with characteristic elaboration. It may be added that (4) Theodoret attempts to combine (1) (3). He holds that the Apostle speaks *περὶ πρακτικῆς ἀρετῆς τε καὶ κακίας*, but continues *τῶν ἀκούοντων οἱ μὲν χρυσὸν ἑαυτοῦς... κατασκευάζουσι*. Here he had been anticipated by Severian (ap. Cramer) *ἡμῶν δὲ ἔστιν ἑαυτοῦς ἢ λίθους ποιεῖν τιμίους κ.τ.λ.*

¹ Origen found in this passage an allusion to a *πῦρ καθάρσιον* (Hagenbach *Hist. of Doctrines* E. T. i. p. 315). The Antiochenes did not agree in their interpretation of the words *οὕτως δὲ ὡς διὰ πυρός*. (1) There is the explanation of Chrysostom repeated by Photius (ap. Cramer) and Theophylact. (2) Severian (whose view Theodoret adopts) holds that the clause *αὐτὸς δὲ σωθήσεται* is parenthetical. (3) Theodore (whose view is mentioned as an alternative by Theodoret) says, *καὶ ἂν σώζῃται διὰ τινὰ ἑτέραν αἰτίαν σώζειν αὐτὸν δυναμένην* [comp. Pelag. in propria justitia], *οὐ διαφυγῶν τὴν διὰ πυρός ἐξέτασιν, ἢν ὑποσχέιν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν χειρίστων ἀνάγκη διδαγμάτων*.

in the Ephesian Epistle (ii. 20 sq.) should be compared and contrasted. In the later passage the Apostle speaks of 'the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets.' Chrysostom is doubtless right in understanding the foundation to be identified with the Apostles and Prophets; he is doubtless wrong in supposing the Prophets to be those only of the old dispensation¹. Christ is the corner-stone, for, as he notes, the corner-stone binds together the walls and the foundations².

The strength and the weakness of Chrysostom in dealing with St Paul's metaphors will alike be clear. His treatment of other modes of argument and expression characteristic of the Apostle calls for less remark.

St Paul's irony has been noticed above in connexion with certain passages in the second Corinthian Epistle. Chrysostom traces it elsewhere. Thus, to take an example from the other letter to Corinth, Chrysostom notes the severity of the 'already' in iv. 8. "Full well does he say 'already,'

¹ It may be noted that instinctively Chrysostom inserts the article (*οἱ ἀπόστ. καὶ οἱ προφ.*) in his comment. His explanation of the 'Prophets' in iii. 5 is the same. Chrysostom plainly makes *πᾶσα οἰκοδομή* = *πᾶσα ἡ οἰκ.* in his comment *κἂν τὸν ὄροφον ἐλπῃς, κἂν τοὺς τοίχους, κἂν ὅτιοῦν ἕτερον, τὸ πᾶν διαβαστάζει*. For the right interpretation ('every building') see Bp. Lightfoot *Ignatius* ii. p. 65. The Temple of Diana would doubtless suggest the thought of many buildings together forming one temple. Theodore by a simple blunder reads *πᾶσα ἀφή* (cf. iv. 16).

² I subjoin a few references to other passages where Chrysostom's interpretation is worthy of note. (1) The Games: 1 Cor. iv. 9 (*ἐπιθάναντες* = *κατάδικοι*); ix. 24 (Chrysostom curiously finds here a reference to the Olympian games; he emphasises the blunder below 269 A); Phil. iii. 13 sq., Col. iii. 15, 2 Tim. ii. 5, iv. 7 (which he illustrates by Rom. xv. 19), Hebr. xii. 1 (the 'course' is selected as the lightest contest in the games); (2) Priesthood and Sacrifice: Rom. xv. 16 (St Paul's priestly office is *τὸ κηρύττειν καὶ καταγγέλλειν*; his knife, the Gospel; the fire, the zeal of disciples; the sacrifice, the presentation of their souls); 2 Tim. iv. 6 (the completeness of the offering is the point); (3) Marriage: 2 Cor. xi. 2 (the Apostle is *ἐν χώρᾳ τῆς προμνηστρίας*); (4) Legal documents: Gal. iii. 15 (iv. 2 is passed over); Col. ii. 14 (*τὸ χειρόγραφον* refers either to Exod. xxiv. 8 or to God's covenant with Adam); (5) The great house: 2 Tim. ii. 20 (the house is not the Church but the whole world); (6) The head and the body: Eph. iv. 15 sq. (the spirit descends from the brain, spreads through the nerves, supplies sensation to each part in proportion to its powers).

shewing from a consideration of the time how incredible and unreasonable were their fancies. So with ridicule, 'so quickly,' says he, 'you have attained the end, a thing which cannot be considering the time.'" Again, rejecting an interpretation which was finding favour with some Latin commentators, he remarks on Col. ii. 21 ('handle not, nor taste, nor touch'), "see how he ridicules them as cowards who abstain from certain great blessings"¹.

Closely allied to St Paul's use of irony is his use of paradox. Chrysostom notices it, though not perhaps so often. In commenting on St Paul's description of Love (1 Cor. xiii. 3), he exclaims, "To say that the gifts of grace (τὰ χαρίσματα) profit nothing if love be absent is nothing strange; forasmuch as these gifts are second to love. But that the strictest life should have no power without love, this enhances the paradox and increases the contradiction"². The Lord Himself, he goes on to note, spoke in the same fashion (Matt. x. 32, xvi. 25). Or again, Chrysostom dwells on the paradox of St Paul's experience of strength perfected in weakness (2 Cor. iv. 9 sq.):—"See how the Apostle speaks of contradictions, that thence also he may prove the power of God."

Again, St Paul uses with effect a *reductio ad absurdum* in his argument. Chrysostom thus explains the train of thought in Gal. ii. 17: "If faith in Christ has not the power to justify, but we must needs cling to the Law again, we who abandoned the Law for Christ's sake, and yet for all our abandonment of it are not justified, but rather condemned, we shall discover that He, for whose sake we abandoned the Law and took refuge in faith, is the author of our condemnation. You see then to how absurd but how necessary a conclusion the Apostle makes the argument lead." Chrysostom notes how St Paul habitually employs this logical device

¹ St Paul is wont ἐπὶ εὐφύμων τιθέναι κατέμφοτα (xii. 31 c) and the converse (x. 77 c).

² Chrysostom's note on ψωμίῳ is worth quoting: προσκεῖσθαι τῇ δαπάνῃ καὶ τὴν διακονίαν τὴν μετ' ἐπιμελείας ἀπάσης.

—*ἡ εἰς ἄτοπον ἀπαγωγή*—and pleads the Apostle's practice as a reason for his own¹.

Closely allied to this last is the *argumentum ad hominem*. "Our advocacy of a cause," Chrysostom remarks, "is in no slight degree supported when we call our adversaries as witnesses on our side, by reason of their actions." Two cases in point noticed by him are 1 Cor. xv. 29^a and Titus i. 12. Under the same head a very frequent artifice of St Paul may be pointed out. Chrysostom remarks upon St Paul's habit of making by a sudden turn his opponent's words tell against himself. Thus on 1 Cor. vi. 12 sq.—"I may live luxuriously," Chrysostom supposes a Corinthian to say to the Apostle. "Yes," the Apostle replies, "thou mayest, yet not as thyself having rule, but as being subject to rule. For thou hast not the rule over thy belly, but thy belly over thee"^a.

St Paul's habit of 'going off at a tangent' has often been noticed. Some of his most weighty paragraphs are offshoots from his main argument. His bypath is as important as his main road, his *πάρεργον* as his *ἔργον*. This characteristic of the Epistles does not escape Chrysostom. "It is St Paul's wont," he remarks on 1 Cor. xi. 28, "not only to work out the main argument, but also, should any other subject suggest itself, to pursue this also with great earnestness, and specially when it involves matters of great weight and urgency. For example, when the Apostle was speaking to married persons, and the subject of slaves fell

¹ x. 367 c, 99 d, 215 d, 232 e.

² Chrysostom mentions two interpretations of *οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν*. (1) The one is based on a reference to what he considers the Marcionite farce. (2) The other, which he himself adopts, makes *τῶν νεκρῶν* = *τῶν σωμάτων*, i.e. Baptism implies belief in the Resurrection of the Body. This leads him to a reference to the Baptismal Creed. He would fain speak without reserve, but cannot because of the *ἀμύητοι*. He however reminds 'the initiated' of the one clause (*μὴς ῥήσεως*), *ἣν κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐκείνην οἱ μυσταγωγούντες ὑμᾶς λέγειν κελεύουσι*. He then mentions the following articles of the Baptismal Creed of Antioch, *πιστεύω... εἰς ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν... καὶ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν... καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*. St Paul, he holds, recalls to the Corinthians these words. Comp. Caspari *Ungedruckte unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen* ch. ii. p. 83 sq.

³ ix. 498 A, 611 c.

across his way, he dealt with it with great force and at considerable length. Again, when he was discoursing of the duty of not going to law before the public tribunals, passing into a warning against avarice, he dwelt at length on this subject. This is the case here. Having once had to mention the Mysteries, he considered it his duty to treat the subject fully: for it was of no common moment." Or again, Chrysostom points out the origin of the great parenthetical argument about the Law in 2 Cor. iii. "Having said, 'Being made manifest that ye are an epistle of Christ,' the Apostle finds a new subject, and a starting-point for a discussion of the question of the Law. And here he uses the word 'letter' with a new reference. Above he called the Corinthians a letter as commending him to others, here a letter of Christ as having the law of God written within them"¹.

In a writer whose works are quickened by the enthusiasm and emotion which mark St Paul's Epistles, we should expect to find an effective and frequent use of the climax. One instance out of many which Chrysostom points out will suffice. St Paul is drawing out the greatness of redemption (Col. i. 20). "To reconcile us," says Chrysostom, "was a great thing; to reconcile us through Himself a greater. But this is greater still:—how did He reconcile us through Himself? Through His blood. And not only so, but what is greater yet—through the Cross. So there are five things worthy our wonder: He reconciled us: unto God: through Himself: through death: through the Cross."

St Paul's obscurity in the case of one Epistle has been already noticed. More than once Chrysostom calls attention to the same phenomenon in the Epistle to the Romans (e.g. iv. 1 sq., vii. 21). Here the apparent confusion is due, not as in the Corinthian Epistle to any desire on St Paul's part to spare the feelings of those concerned, but to the depth and complexity of the argument². But in one case at least (Rom.

¹ ix. 547 D, x. 136 D, 159 A.

² Theodore (on Rom. ix. 22) traces St Paul's obscurity to his use of ellipsis.

i. 4) Chrysostom traces the obscurity to the complication of the language (*ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν λέξεων πλοκῆς*), a tangle which, he adds, it is his business to unravel.

A single passage from the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians (vi. 14 sq.) gives Chrysostom an opportunity of noticing several rhetorical artifices of the Apostle. (1) He conveys censure and warning under colour of commendation. (2) He advances by means of questions quickly succeeding each other¹,—such questions however only being possible in the case of matters free from doubt or controversy. (3) He expands his appeal by the rapidity and number of his words. (4) He personifies, and so contrasts, abstract qualities.

To formulate an elaborate verdict on the excellences and shortcomings of Chrysostom as an interpreter of Holy Scripture is, I hope, a superfluous task at the end of this Essay. I desire only to set roughly down the main characteristics of the Commentator, which most strike the student of his works.

Chrysostom lived in a controversial age, when the great Theological struggle was no mere memory of the past, when the still more bitter Christological disputes of the next generation were beginning to stir men's minds. Not seldom have we noticed that the fear of opening the door to heretical tenets blunts the perception of the teacher in regard to the grammatical and logical force of sentences and words.

Again, from time to time we have remarked a tendency to interpret the New Testament in accordance with later formulas and usages of Church life.

Conversely, ignorance or neglect of customs and modes of thought prevalent among the Jews in the time of Christ and His Apostles, is an occasional cause of stumbling. A further occasional blemish is a straining after a too realistic interpretation. The Commentator is impatient of vagueness; to his clear transparent mind the sense of mysterious awe is unwelcome. Hence the historical method is at times mis-

¹ Comp. ix. 497 c.

applied. At times an attempt is made to express or define things which pass man's understanding.

Sometimes the fault is the reverse. Chrysostom, like Gregory of Nazianzen¹, was human enough to know the advantage of his position as a preacher. He does not hesitate to cover his retreat before a question of interpretation too hard for him with clouds of rhetoric and personal appeal.

Critically speaking, perhaps the besetting sin of Chrysostom is his love of combining different interpretations². He fuses them in the crucible of his oratory.

Against these obvious failings must be set virtues no less conspicuous.

Foremost stands Chrysostom's love of Holy Scripture. It is often expressed in his writings; it is always felt. 'Pectus facit Theologum.'

Next we remark his sound common sense—a true *χάρισμα*, the lack of which has often made the words of churchmen as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. With Chrysostom it is chiefly manifest in the position which he assigns in interpretation to grammar, logic, and history.

Again, his sympathy with human life and the shifting currents of human emotion enables him with remarkable power and delicacy to discern, and give expression to, the strong and changing feelings which live in the words of the most human Book.

Critically speaking, perhaps the crowning glory of Chrysostom is his vigour and clearness as an expositor. Marked exceptions there are, as it has been pointed out, in his volu-

¹ Praeceptor quondam meus Gregorius Nazianzenus, rogatus a me ut exponeret quid sibi vellet in Luca *sabbatum δευτερόπρωτον*, id est, *secundo-primum*, eleganter lusit, Docebo te, inquit, super hac re in ecclesia, in qua mihi omni populo acclamante cogeris invitus scire quod nescis, aut certe, si solus tacueris, solus ab omnibus stultitiae condemnaberis. Hier. Ep. 52, p. 263 (quoted in Westcott and Hort, *Introduction, Notes on Select Readings*, p. 58).

² "This redundancy of explanation probably arose from the commentator's setting down a variety of glosses, as he found them in the margin of his Greek Testament; which is known to have been a common practice with him" (Field *Otium Norvicense* p. 118).

minous works. They do not affect his character as a whole. As a rule—it is a rare gift with commentators—he brings light and not darkness, order and not confusion, into the passage with which he deals. His not unsuccessful or un-blessed attempt was, in simplicity and sincerity to draw aside whatever veil appeared to rest on words which he knew to be ‘words of eternal life.’ Through his work to the Church of his own and of later days ‘the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ has been more clearly and more freshly shewn forth.’

*ἀνὴρ λόγιος...δυνατὸς ὦν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς...κατηχημένος
τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ζέων τῷ πνεύματι ἐλάλει καὶ ἐδίδασκεν
ἀκριβῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.*

APPENDIX.

THE following list of books is probably far from complete. Most, but not quite all, I have seen. Some, it will be noticed, are included, not because of their intrinsic importance, but because they indicate the extent of the influence which Chrysostom has exercised, and of the attention which scholars have given to his works, in modern times.

(1) Editions and Translations.

1465 (?). In a work of ST ANTONINUS, Archbishop of Florence, called *Summa Confessionum*, of which there were several editions 1465—1485, about eight pages from the end there is the note, "Incipit sermo beati Johānis Crisostomi de penitētia." There then follows the Homily in Latin. Probably this is the earliest printed edition of any of Chrysostom's works.

1470. Omelie lxxvii. Beati Johānis Chrisostomi super evangelio Johānis Romae in S. Eusebii monasterio scripte et diligenter correcte: Anno dñi MCCCCLXX, die Lune xxix Mensis Octobris.

After an introductory note and an index of subjects, there follows "ad clarissimum Cosmum medicen florentinum In Johānis Chrisostomi cōmentarium super Johānis evāgelio Frāncisci Aretini p̄fatio."

Several editions of Homilies in Latin appeared at this time, or even perhaps a few years earlier, printed by Ulric Zell at Cologne¹.

1525. Basileae. Divi Joannis Chrysostomi, quod multae quidē dignitatis, sed difficile sit episcopum agere, dialogi sex. Ap. Jo. Froben.

¹ For information on early printers see Bigmore and Wyman *Bibliography of Printing*, 3 vols. London 1880—1886.

A preface by Erasmus is followed by the *De Sacerdotio* in Greek. Is this the earliest Greek edition of any part of Chrysostom's works?

1526. Basileae. Divi Joannis Chrysostomi in epistolam ad Philippenses homiliae duae, versae per Erasmum Rotterdamum, additis Graecis. Ejusdem Chrysostomi libellus elegans Graecus, in quo confert verum monachum cum principibus, divitibus ac nobilibus hujus mundi. J. FROBEN.
1527. Basileae. "Jo. Frob. Studioso Lectori S.D. Tria nova dabit hic libellus...Libellum perquam elegantem D. Joannis Chrysostomi Graecum, de Babyla martyre."
1529. Veronae. Divi Johannis Chrysostomi in omnes Pauli ap. epistolas accuratissima...interpretatio... Veronae typis aereis excusum per Stephanum, & fratres a Sabio quarto Kalendas Julias. MDXXIX.

This edition was prepared under the patronage of Gibert, Bishop of Verona, and was dedicated to Clement VII.

1602. Heidelberg. Sancti Patris Joannis Chrysostomi Archiep. Constan. Expositio in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum. Graece nunc primum producitur e MSS. illustribus... Ex officina Commeliniana.

On Montfaucon's error in regard to this edition and for valuable information as to early editions see Field *Hom. in Matth.* vol. iii. Praef.; comp. the same Editor's *Monitum* prefixed to his Edition of the Hom. on the Pauline Epistles.

1612. Eton. S. Joannis Chrysostomi Opera Graece; H. SAVILE.
1621. Paris. Sancti Patris Nostri Joannis Chrysostomi [Homiliae]. FRONTO DUCAEUS...ap. Sebastianum Cramoisy, et Antonium Stephanum.

These are selected Homilies, not including the great series on the New Testament books. The last of the six volumes is dated 1624.

1636. Paris. Opera Omnia; FRONTO DUCAEUS...ap. C. Morellum.

The Latin translation had been already published in Paris in 1614.

- 1718—1738. Paris. Opera Omnia; BERNARD DE MONTFAUCON.

This, the Benedictine edition, has been several times reprinted. For parts of Chrysostom's works I have used the Paris reprint (1834—1839).

1839. Cambridge. *Homiliae in Matthaeum*; F. FIELD.

1849—1862. Oxford. *Interpretatio omnium ep. Paulinarum, per Homilias facta*; F. FIELD.

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the two last-mentioned editions both in regard to text and notes.

1858—1862. Paris. The works of Chrysostom fill vols. 47—64 of MIGNÉ's *Patrologia Graeca*.

1542. Chrysostom's Sermon *De Patientia*, together with Cyprian's *De Mortalitate*, was commonly printed in the Latin, French, German, and Italian editions of the *Dance of Death*. The earliest copy containing this Homily, which I have found in the British Museum, bears the date 1542 (*Les simulachres, et historiées faces de la mort, contenant la médecine de l'ame*; Lyon: J. & F. Frellon).

See F. Douce *The Dance of Death* etc., London 1833; H. N. Humphreys *Hans Holbein's celebrated Dance of Death* etc., London 1868; The Holbein-Society's Reprints, vol. 1, *The Dance of Death*, Manchester and London, 1869.

1544. London. An Homilie of saint John Chrysostome upon that saying of saint Paul [1 Thess. iv. 13]...newly made out of Greke into latin by Master Cheke, and englished by Tho. Chaloner.

I have not noticed an earlier English translation of any part of Chrysostom's works.

1574. London. The disclosing of a late counterfeyted possession by the deuyll in two maydens within the citie of London.

To the confessions of the pair, Agnes Brigges and Rachell Pynder—the latter “confessed and auouched before the most Reverend Father Mathewe L. Archbyshop of Canterburie”—there is added, as the Preface tells us, “a part of an Homilie, written by that learned man John Chrisostome, sometime Archebishop of Constantinople, whiche maye sufficiently instructe us all to beware, not onely of Witche-craftes, but also inueieth specially againste

Jewes and Witches, whiche seeme to doo good, and to heale suche as be hurt by others."

The passage is part of "the fift Homelie agaynst the Jewes." Comp. pp. 12, 27 note.

1839—1852. Oxford. A Library of Fathers of the Catholic Church. The Homilies on the New Testament and some other Sermons of Chrysostom are translated in this Series.

1863—1867. Bar-le-Duc. Oeuvres complètes traduites pour la première fois en Français, sous la direction et avec la collaboration de Prêtres de l'immaculée conception de Saint-Dizier. In the *first* of the eleven volumes (p. 1—522) there is a life by ABBÉ MARTIN.

1865—1873. Paris. Oeuvres complètes...Nouvelle Traduction Française par l'Abbé J. BAREILLE. This edition is in 20 volumes. The translation is in parallel columns with the Greek.

1869. Kempten. Ausgewählte Schriften...nach dem Urtexte übersetzt von Dr J. C. MITTERRUTZNER. 4 vols.

(2) The Life of Chrysostom.

Among general works those of the following writers may be specially named: Böhringer, De Broglie *L'église et l'empire Romain au IV^e Siècle*, Cave *Lives of the Fathers*, Erasmus *Ep.* 1150, Gibbon *ch.* xxxii., Hefele *Hist. of the Church Councils*, Milman, Neander, Tillemont.

Special works are—

1639. Tornaci. Vita D. Joannis Chrysostomi etc.; J. VINCARTIUS (a Jesuit).

1664. Paris. La vie de Saint Jean Chrysostôme etc., par LE SIEUR MENART. The author who wrote under this pseudonym seems to have been a Canon of Beauvais, GODEFROI HERMANT, who also wrote lives of Athanasius, Basil, and Ambrose.

1718—1738. Paris. The Benedictine Edition contains Historical prefaces to the several works of Chrysostom, and in the last volume a Life of Chrysostom.

1781. Madrid. Historia...de la gran columna de la Iglesia S. Juan Chrysostomo; M. J. MARTIN.

1821. Berlin. Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und die Kirche etc.; A. NEANDER.
There is an English translation of the first part by J. C. STAPLETON, London, 1838.
1852. Lille. Saint Jean Chrysostôme...sa vie et extraits de ses écrits.
1853. Hamburg and Gotha. Des Bischofs Johannes Chrysostomus Leben...für die Familie unsrer Tage dargestellt; F. M. PERTHES.
1854. Boston. The same translated from the German by A. HOVEY and B. D. FORD.
1860. Paris. Saint Jean Chrysostôme ses oeuvres et son siècle: E. MARTIN (l'Abbé d'Agde). 2 vols. Compare the notice above of the French edition 1863—1867.
1866. Paris. Histoire de S. Jean Chrysostôme etc.; B. J. ROCHET.
1871. London. St John Chrysostom, His Life and Times etc.; W. R. W. STEPHENS.
1871. London and Edinburgh. John of the Golden Mouth etc.; W. MACGILVRAY.
1872. Paris. Récits de l'histoire romain au 5^e siècle: St Jean Chrysostome et l'Impératrice Eudoxie; A. THIERRY.
1874. Zürich. Joh. Chrysostomus, Vortrag; G. R. ZIMMERMANN.
1875. London. St Chrysostom's Picture of his Age; S.P.C.K.
1876. London. St Chrysostom's Picture of the Religion of his Age; S.P.C.K.
1883. Braunsberg. Der heilige Joh. Chrysostomus in seinem Verhältniss zum Byzantinischen Hofe; F. LUDWIG.
1885. London. The Life and Times of Chrysostom; R. W. BUSH. Published by the Religious Tract Society.

(3) Chrysostom as a Preacher.

1846. Tübingen. Chrysostomus und die übrigen berühmtesten kirchlichen Redner etc.; J. LUTZ.

1853. Strasbourg. Chrysostôme Prédicateur aux églises d'Antioche et de Constantinople; F. GOUNON.
1858. Paris. S. Jean Chrysostôme considéré comme orateur populaire; P. ALBERT.
1876. London. Prophets of Christendom; Bishop BOYD CARPENTER.
1884. Aberdeen. The Scottish Church Review (Jan. and Feb.): *S. Chrysostom as an Orator*; Bishop WORDSWORTH of St Andrews.

The French Lives of Chrysostom specially dwell on this point. Comp. Fénelon *Dialogues sur l'Éloquence*; *Oeuvres* (ed. 1824) xxi. p. 114.

- (4) The School of Antioch: Chrysostom as a Teacher, and Expositor of Holy Scripture.

Among general works the following may be named:—Augustin in *Nösselt's Opusc.* iii. p. 321 sq., *Cave Script. Eccles. Hist. Liter.*, Diestel *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der Christlichen Kirche*, Ernesti *Narratio Critica de Interpretatione Prophetiarum Messianarum* (in *Opusc. Theol.* 1782), Fabricius *Bibliotheca Graeca*, Farrar *Hist. of Interpretation* (Bampton Lectures 1885), Lardner *Credibility of the Gospel History* (Works, ed. 1834, vol. iv. p. 534 sq.), Bp Lightfoot *St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (Patristic Commentaries on this Epistle, p. 223 ed. 3), Rosenmüller *Historia Interpretationis Librorum Sacrorum* iii. iv., Simon *Histoire Critique des Principaux Commentateurs du N.T.*

Special Works are—

1806. Nürnberg. De Chrysostomo literarum Sacrarum ac potiss. quidem V.T. interprete; G. W. MEYER.
- This book is referred to by Winer *Handbuch der Theol. Lit.* and Reuss *Gesch. der Heil. Schr.* I have not been able to find a copy.
1811. Hafniae. De Schola Antiochena (a sermon at the Consecration of three Bishops); Bp F. MÜNTER.
1813. Leipzig. Ueber die Antiochenische Schule; Bp F. MÜNTER (in Staüdlin and Tzschirner *Archiv*).

1822. Lipsiae. De Theodoro Epist. Paulinarum Interprete Commentatio Historico-Exegetica; J. F. C. RICHTER.
Richter (p. 7) quotes Schulze *Dissertatio de vita et scriptis Theodoretis*.
1834. Berolini. Theod. Ant. quae supersunt omnia; A. F. V. WEGNER. The First volume, containing the Commentary on the Minor Prophets, alone appeared.
1836. Gottingae. Symbolae literariae ad Theodorum Antiochenum; R. E. KLENER.
1836. Halae. De Th. Mopsuesteni vita et scriptis; O. F. FRITZSCHE.
1837. Amstelodami. Specimen observationum de Th. Ant. xii. Proph. Minorum interprete; S. C. H. TOE WATER.
1847. Turici. Theod. Ep. Mops. in N.T. Commentariorum quae reperiri potuerunt; O. F. FRITZSCHE.
1864. Neostadii ad Saalam. Schola Antiochena de S. Scripturae interpretatione quodam modo sit merita; C. HORNING.
1866. Weissenburg. Die Bedeutung der Antiochenischen Schule auf dem exegetischen Gebiete; H. KIHN.
1866. Würzburg. Die Antiochenische Schule und ihre Bedeutung auf exegetischem Gebiete; PH. HERGENRÖTHER.
1869. Gotha. Chrysostomus in seinem Verhältniss zur Antiochenischen Schule; TH. FOERSTER.
1871. München. Der exegetische Standpunkt des Theodor von Mops. und Theodoret von Kyros in der Auslegung Mess. Weissagungen; F. A. SPECHT.
1879. Freiburg. Polychronius...Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Exegese; O. BARDENHEWER.
1880. London. Articles (*The value of the Patristic Writings for the Criticism and Exegesis of the Bible*) in the *Expositor* (vols. xi. xii.); Dr W. SANDAY.
1880. Freiburg. Theodor von Mops. und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten; H. KIHN.
1880. Cambridge. Theodori Episcopi Mops. in Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii; Dr H. B. SWETE. [Vol. 2, 1882.]

- (5) Chrysostom in relation to (a) the Liturgies, (b) the Creeds, of the Church.

(a) Liturgies.

1654. Paris. Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum. The Section (vol. vi. p. 491—518) *De Eucharistia et Missae ritibus ex operibus D. Joannis Chrysostomi* is a collection of passages illustrating Chrysostom's doctrine and practice.
1726. London. The Antiquities of the Christian Church (Book xiii. Ch. vi. *An extract of the several parts of the ancient liturgy out of the genuine writings of St. Chrysostom, following the order of his works*); J. BINGHAM.
1879. Oxford. The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch etc.; C. E. HAMMOND.

(b) Creeds.

1866. Christiania. Ungedruckte...Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel; C. P. CASPARI.

i. The Second Chapter deals with "a fragment of the Baptismal Creed of Antioch gathered from the Acts of the Ephesine Council with a fragment of the same gathered from a Homily of Chrysostom" (Hom. xl. in Ep. 1 ad Cor.).

ii. The Eighteenth Chapter gives 'two Homilies on the Symbol ascribed to Chrysostom.' They are in Latin and deal with the Apostles' Creed. They are referred to by Pearson *on the Creed*, who notices the presence of the clause 'He descended into Hell' in 'the Exposition of the Creed falsely ascribed to Chrysostom'—it occurs in the Second Homily; and that the words 'Communione Sanctorum' do not occur 'in either of the expositions under the name of St Chrysostom.'

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